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The Gōlaki School of Śaivism in the Tamil Country

BY

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INTRODUCTION

Śaivism as generally understood today implies a very general and comprehensive sphere comprising numerous sects and subsects. Some of these are well-known, others fairly well known and yet others very little known. Some of these, during the different periods of their past history enjoyed varying degrees of popularity and prestige. A few of them flourished as long as they enjoyed royal patronage and weaned out with the fall of the concerned ruling dynasty. There are also records of sects that thrived solely on people's following and their patronage. Most of these sects at some stage or other during their growth underwent modifications, accepted deviations and allowed interpolations both at ritualistic and philosophical levels; some became more catholic while others assumed progressive rigidity. The shade and complexion of many a sect kept on fluctuating owing to the impact of inter-actions and intercourses among the contemporary sects, and there are also instances where one sect completely merged with another, just as there are instances of the founding of new sects or subsects.

The long history of Śaivism in the Tamil country dating from the 6th century has no exceptions to these general trends. The type of Śaivism followed by the Gōlaki order is one of the major waves of the religion that entered the Tamil land in the 10th century A. D. An attempt to recapture its glorious history is made in the pages to follow.

The largest part of source materials used for this study is drawn from the abstracts of contents of epigraphs as edited in the Annual Reports of the Epigraphic Department, Archaeological Survey of India. Data have also been gathered from the full texts of the concerned inscriptions that have been published, although these represent a small fraction of the bulk that remains yet unpublished. Because of this limitation, the ideas put forward in this study are necessarily provisional though not conjectural.

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In the past, a couple of authors have touched upon some aspects of the Gōlaki monasteries in the Tamil country. The first set of these belongs to the lineage of Government Epigraphists who regularly summed up the cumulative information year after year in Part II section of the Annual Reports. The remaining authors handle the topic in a rather casual manner, their major interest belonging to some other related themes. Thus the Gōlaki institutions figure as one of the centres of learning in the papers published by Lokanayaki Nannittambi and Gurumurty (1970). A few pages are devoted to give a brief account of the Gōlaki monasteries in the *History of Śaivism in the Tamil Country* (Rajamanikkam, 1958, 1962). Venkitaramanayya and Somasekhara Sarma (1960) deal with the Gōlaki institutions and their preceptors as confined to the Kākatīya period. The brief account of the *Gōlaki maṭha* written by Mahalingam (1962) is mainly concerned with the origins of the institution.

THE GŌLAKI-VAMŚA

A. Andhra Country

The *Lakṣādhyāyi* lineage is a well represented pedegree of the Gōlaki main-line in the Telugu land and this lineage is practically synonymous with the *Bhikṣā-maṭha* lineage. The Malkapuram inscription executed in AD 1261 (SII, X, No. 395; Ramayya Pantalu, 1930) mentions that a Śivācārya by name Sadbhāva-śambhu belonging to a line of teachers commencing from Dūrvāsa, acquired the three-lakh province as a *bhikṣā* from the Kalachūri king Yuvarajadeva I (A. D. 915—945) of Dahala Mandala (the country situated between the rivers Bhāgīrati and Narmadā). This teacher, it is said, founded a monastery called the Gōlaki *maṭha*. According to Hiralal (1927), this *maṭha* was situated at Bhādaghāt, about 12 miles from Tripuri on the banks of the Narmadā. Viśvēśwara-śambhu of the Malkapuram epigraph, also known by the names Viśvēśvara-dēśika, Viśvēśvara-śiva and Viśvēśvara-śivaćārya, was a disciple of the Gōlaki *maṭha*, and a resident of Pūrva-grāma in Dakṣina Rāḍha in Gauḍa-dēśa before he came over to the Andhra country.

However, it should be emphasized that the Gōlaki line of teachers had already settled down in the Andhra and Tamil countries during earlier centuries. When the Nolumba-pallava king Annayya-deva, son of Biranolumba, was ruling the terrain around Anantapur, we hear of a

teacher by name Varuṇa-śiva who was connected with the temple of Nolumbēśvara (759 of 1916, A.D.936). An 11th century epigraph dated in the Saka year 999 of the Telugu-Coda Bija-deva records a gift of a village to the teacher Uttama-śiva, who was obviously a pupil of the Gōlaki *maṭha* (62 of 1939/40). A record of the 12th century from Sattenepalle, Guntur district-with no data on the dynasty or king-speaks of a gift of a land to the Trikōṭīśvara temple at Velantūru and also of an Īśana-śiva, to whom, presumably, the gift was handed over (7 of 1908).

The reigns of Kākatīya Ganapathi (A. D. 1199-1261) and of Rudramā-devi (A. D. 1259-1295) saw a stronghold of the Gōlaki Śaivism in their dominions. Viśvēśvara-śiva, by virtue of his position as the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*), controlled the religious life of the territory. Numerous epigraphs of these rulers refer to the teachers of the Gōlaki-Lakṣādhyāyi lineage, the part played by them in the construction of temples and monasteries and of the endowments they received for religious and humanitarian purposes. Institutions belonging to these *ācāryas* were scattered sporadically throughout the territory and continued to be in existence as late as the 16th century (Map 1). The epigraphs provide some information that helps to construct a genealogy of the teachers as given in the accompanying chart, adopted and enlarged from ARE 1936/7, Part II, para 19.

There are a few more epigraphs of the Kākatīya period and the teachers mentioned therein belong, in all likelihood, to the Gōlaki lineage; however, they cannot be accommodated in the genealogical list. One of the epigraphs incised in the reign of Ganapati (233 of 1937/8, AD 1257) refers to Īśāna-guru who was the recipient of the gift of a village for the god Puṣpēśvara-mahādēva. Another is dated in the reign of Pratāparudra (50 of 1957/8, AD 1313) and mentions a gift of land to Aghōra-śivācārya, who has been called the royal preceptor (*rājaguru-dēva*). The name of Candrabhūṣana-śivācārya figures in another epigraph of the same ruler (233 of 1905, AD 1313) and of Īśvara-śivācārya belonging to Arasu *maṭha* in a record from Srisailam (36 of 1915, AD 1313).

Sadā-śiva, son of Śānta-śiva, was the *sthānapati* in the temple of Bengēśvara in Kambhampadu, Guntur district (301 of 1931/2, AD 1258). The later teacher is described as the *rājaguru* of the Kākatīya Jannigadeva and that he was the pontiff of an Abhinava Gōlaki *maṭha* at Sriparvata (50 of 1940/1.) Vyāpaka-śiva, a pupil of Yagna-jīyar of

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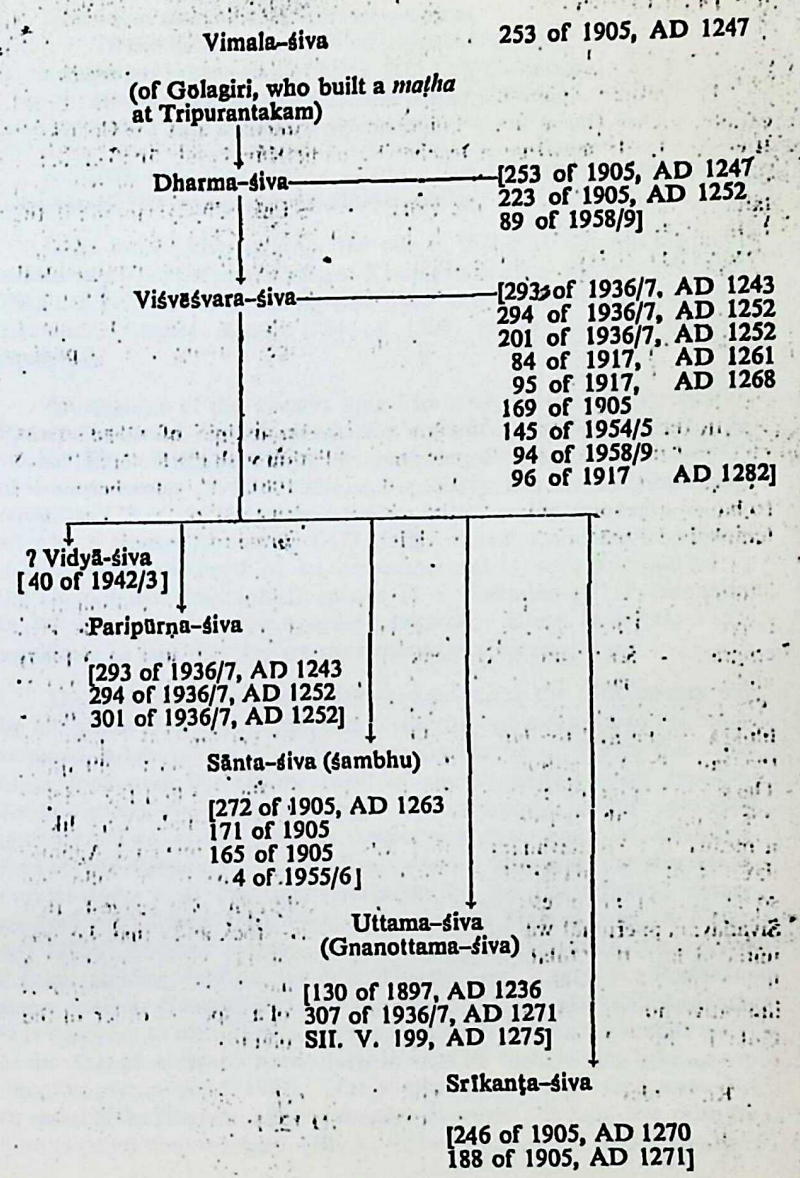
Puspagiri, was appointed the *Sri-kāryam* in the temple of Citttramēlī-śvara by the members of the guild Cittramāḷi (6 of 1953/4). The teacher of the same name occurring in 14 and 19 of the same year is obviously identical with this Vyāpaka-śiva (19 of 1953/4, AD 1237).

We hear of the Gōlaki line of teachers again in the 16th century under the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers. An Aghōra-śivācārya appears to have plastered the *śikhara* of a temple at Puspagiri (307 of 1905, AD 1501). Another teacher by name Immaḍi Rudraśivācārya of Terku *maṭha* received money for offerings to god at Kālahastīśwara temple (164 and 172 of 1924, AD 1514 and 1519 respectively). This teacher could be the same as the one in 497 of 1905, AD 1571, where he is described as a pupil of Ponnambala Dharma-śivācārya, who in turn was the pupil of Ananta-śivācārya.

The Gōlaki *maṭha* at Devikāpuram appears to have been a very influencial center during the 16th century under the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers. The earliest epigraph to mention this lineage of Bhikṣā *maṭha* is dated in AD 1505 in the reign of Immaḍi Rāyadēva, son of Sāḷuva Narasimha and registers a grant of right to a resident of the town by the temple trustee, Viśvaśwara-śivācārya (354 of 1912). The same teacher continued in the reign of Krishnadevaraya and here again the teacher is referred to as the trustee (389, 390, and 365 of 1912 AD 1513, 1515 and 1523 respectively). Another teacher, Iśāna-śivācārya, also figures somewhat contemporaneously with Viśvēśvara-śivācārya. The former had also been described as a treasurer of the temple (352 of 1912, AD 1519); that he appears to have had an important duty in the temple and *maṭha* is clear from 368, 373 and 256 of 1919, AD 1522, 1531 and 1533 respectively. It is not clear if they had a teacher-pupil relationship. It is also doubtful if Iśāna-śivayōgīndra who died (400 of 1912) was the one referred to in the epigraphs cited above.



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B. Tamil Country

1. *Lakṣādhyāyī (Bhikṣā)* lineage

The earliest epigraphic reference to this lineage in the Tamil country occurs in a record incised in the reign of the Cola king Rajendra I. It says that a teacher by name Kanakasabhāpati..... dēsikar was residing at Kīḻaikaṭṭu (modern Kīḻaiyūr, Nagapattinam taluk), which was a seat of the *ācāryas* of the Lakṣādhyāyīsantāna in the Patanjalidevar *maṭha* situated in Mālaiccēri, Chidambaram (88 of 1946/7, AD 1041). As the epigraph is located in Nagapattinam, it may be presumed that there could have been either a *maṭha* or a group of teachers of Gōlaki school there also. At the same time it would indicate the likelihood of this lineage having had its predecessors in these places.

In the 12th century, Ōmkāradēva-rāvaḷa, disciple of Gnāna-śiva-rāvaḷa of the Lakṣādhyāyī lineage had affiliation with the Kolla *maṭha* of Vāraṇāsi (Benares) (111 of 1929/30, AD 1106). This teacher is said to have given some money to the *sthānattār* (trustees) of the Vāchēśvara temple in Tirupāchchūr for providing *tirupavitram* to the god.

The Cōḻa and Pāndya epigraphs of the 13th century abound in references to the teachers and monasteries of the Gōlaki line. Two epigraphs of Kulottunga III speak of Rāyaḷan (72 of 1930/1, AD 1217) and Śivadāvanapperumāḷ alias Aghōradēva-rāvaḷar (145 of 1932/3; AD 1216); the former is spoken of as belonging to the Vāraṇāsi-bhikṣā-maṭha and the latter could very well be yet another teacher of the same lineage, although not necessarily of the Vāraṇāsi affiliation. The second epigraph is important in that herein we find the teacher possessing an alternative name, viz., Śivadavanapperumal. Very likely it means that Śivadavanapperumāḷ was his initial name and Aghōradēva-rāvaḷar his name after entering the religious order following some kind of an investiture (*dīkṣa*). The epigraph also suggests that Śivadavanapperumāḷ was of the indigenous stock and that he was initiated into the Gōlaki pontificate by virtue of his having received a house-site for establishing a monastery. That the suffix *rāvaḷar* is indicative not only of an investiture but also of a specific order of the Gōlaki school is confirmed by a few other epigraphs:

Kaḷāsadēva-rāvaḷar of the Gōlaki *maṭha* at Tiruvannamalai—11 of 1935/6, AD 1234

Iśāna-śiva-rāvaḷar of Sriparvati *maṭha* at Tirukodunkunram—209 of 1924, AD (about) 1266

Paśupati-rāvaḷar—48 of 1928/9, AD 1277 (Paśupati-rāvaḷar of Ponnambalakūttan *maṭha*, 265 of 1941/2 may perhaps be identical).

All these epigraphs clearly mention that the teachers belonged to the Lakṣādhyāyi *santāna* of the Gōlaki-*vaṁśa*.

Iśana-dāva (different from the one in 209 of 1924) and his pupils resided in Nallapperumal *maṭha* at Karungalam alias Sadavacakanallur. They are said to have immigrated from the Kṛiṣṇa-Gōlaki *maṭha* at Tiruvarur, Tanjore district (504 of 1909, at the time of Sundara Pandya I).

An epigraph of the Pandya king Virapandyadeva from Tiruputtur, Ramanathapuram district speaks of a monastery presided over by the teacher Rājēndrattu-mudaliyār Śivaprakāśar, disciple of a "mudaliyār" of Bhikṣā *maṭha* (164 of 1935/6, AD c. 1284); this record is obviously related to 173 of 1935/6, wherein a Śivaprakāśa *maṭha* was being looked after by a teacher Sarvēśvara (AD 1264). Another undated inscription (636 of 1904, presumed to be contemporaneous with Rararaja III by the Government Epigraphist) speaks of a "Svāmidāvar" as belonging to the *santāna* of Lakṣādhyāyī-mudaliyārs. These inscriptions are significant in that they replace the name *ācārya* by *mudaliyār*.

The proliferation of the Gōlaki-*vaṁśa* during the 13th century was by no means confined to the Tamil country but extended to the newly acquired areas of neighbouring dynasties as well. When the Cōḻa kings took over the eastern parts of the Kannada country (modern Kolar district), the Gōlaki lineage also promptly moved into this territory. Two of the disciples (Sōmēśvara-dāvar and.....nāyanār), sons of the *rājaguru* Viśvēśvara-śiva, who in turn was the disciple of Śurami-dāvar alias Prasanna-śivaṭṭaiyār of the Lakṣādhyāyī lineage received gift of land from Gangapperumal (55 of Kolar, EC X Kolar, AD 1285). Another epigraph from Ramagiri, Tiruvallur, Chingleput district, lacking data on the date, dynasty, etc., mentions a Praśānta-śiva-muṇḍiyār (?mudaliyār) with the honorific Cōḻa-pāṇḍya-Svāmidāva. It is tempting to identify this preceptor with the one of the similar name in the Ganga epigraph particularly in view of their having belonged to Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* (696 of 1904). Yet another epigraph of Gangaperumal (a vassal of the Hoysala Vira-ramanatha) mentions a Sakala-śiva-paṇḍitar who is called "our teacher" (EC X, 117 of Chintamani, AD 1289).

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The Patanjali-devar *maṭha* at Chidambaram referred to above (88 of 1946/7, AD 1041) continued to flourish in the 14th century (115 of 1939/40, AD 1301). The *naṭṭavar* of Aḷividaitāngiparru gifted a village for the worship and offerings to the image of Viśvēśvara-nāyanār which had been installed in the *maṭha* and for feeding the *tapasvins* (recluses) therein. Viśvēśvara-nāyanār was obviously a preceptor of the *maṭha* who had died. Ēkāmradēva-mudaliyār of the Dakṣiṇa-Gōlaki *maṭha* at Tiruvārur, Tanjore district, resided for some time in Tirukodunkunram and established a monastery called Virudamudittan *maṭha* over there. There was a branch of the Bhikṣā *maṭha* presided over by Āgamaśīla alias Umaiyorubhāga-mudaliyār in Manappadaividu, Tirunelveli district, in the time of the Pandya king Māravarman Vīrapandya (448 of 1909, AD 1357). A disciple of Āgamaśīla Umaiyorubhāgar finds mention in an undated epigraph, presumably of about the same period (443 of 1909). Ēkāmradēva-mudaliyār of Dakṣiṇa-Gōlaki monastery at Tiruvārur received a gift of land for maintaining a *maṭha* (234 of 1924, AD 1303). Vyāpaka-śiva was disciple of the Naduvil *maṭha* situated at Tiruvanaikkaval, Tiruchi district (352 of 1914, AD 1323).

That the Gōlaki *vaṁśa* continued to be in flourishing existence during the 15th century is attested by an epigraph bearing the date AD 1477. It mentions an endowment of land given to one Īśāna-śivācārya of Bhikṣā *maṭha* at Jatadharikuppam, North Arcot district (93 of 1941/2).

There are clear evidences of the Gōlaki-Bhikṣā lineage continuing to flourish as late as the 16th century. An epigraph executed in the reign of Madurai Vīrappa Nayak in 1571 speaks of a Terku *maṭha* at Tirunelveli, presided over by Īśāna-śivācārya, the disciple of Puṣpalaka-śivācārya, in turn the disciple of Sarvaśikhāmaṇi Vēmbattūr Mudaliyār Aghōra-śivācārya (c. p. 34 of 1940 / 1, AD 1571). Another copper-plate charter in the possession of the Vembattur *maṭha* Tirunelveli, speaks of Sankaranārāyanācārya of the Dakṣiṇa-Gōlaki affiliation who was presiding over the Śaivaśikhāmaṇi *maṭha* (c. p. 33 of 1940/1). A teacher by name Perumānāyanarp-paṇḍāram, a disciple of Aghōraśivācārya of the Bhikṣā *matha* at Chidambaram purchased a land for his *maṭha* at Kuduvancheri in Srivanjiyam, Nannilam taluk, Tanjore district (79 of 1911, AD 1579). Āṇḍugoṇḍa-nāyanār, a pupil of Umaiyorubhāga-mudaliyārp-paṇḍāram and his party were appointed to take up the duties of *maḍāpattiyam* (management of the monastery and of the temple connected with it) at Siva-sailam, Tirunelveli district (520 of 1916, AD 1587).

Tiruppuṇavāśal-mudaliyar appears to have been an influential teacher during the 16th century. He was residing at the Vellaikkavalan *maṭha* in the western street at Chidambaram and four epigraphs from Kovilur and Kannakudi, Ramanathapuram district, mention gifts of land and villages to him (399 of 1954/5, AD 1515; 525 of 1962/3, AD 1555; 532 524 of 1962/3). Two other epigraphs from Tiruputtur and Piranmalai, Ramanathapuram district, speak of Īśāna-śiva of Kallu *maṭha* (178 of 1935/6, AD 1504; 193 of 1924, AD 1531). 213 of 1924, AD 1501, mentions another teacher as "Pāṇḍināṭṭu-mudaliyār" who was the presiding pontiff of the Arabattumūvar *maṭha* at Piranmalai, Ramanathapuram.

A dateless epigraph of Sundara Pandya from the walls of the Nelliyappar temple, Tirunelveli, mentions the names of Niraingai-āḍuvān, Kallikkaḍindakaiyan and Tirugnānasambandan, disciples of Paśupati-rāvaḷar of the Bhikṣā *maṭha* (131, 132 of 1894; SII V Nos. 420, 421). It is likely that this Paśupati-rāvaḷar is identical with the one of the same name in 48 of 1928/9, who belonged to the Lakṣādhyāyi *santāna* of the Gōlaki *vaṁśa*.

2. *Gnānāmṛtācārya* lineage

All the available epigraphs bearing data on this lineage belong to the 13th century and topographically restricted to the walls of the Vāḷīśvara temple, Tiruvalisvaram, Ambasamudram taluk, Tirunelveli district, thereby suggesting its endemic nature. That the affiliation of this lineage was with the Gōlaki mainline is clear from 359, 361 and 364 of 1916. That Aghōradēva alias Sōḷan-śīyan belonged to the Jīyar *santāna* of the Gōlaki school is stated in the inscriptions of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (358 of 1916); there was also another preceptor, Tatpuruṣadēva (364 of 1916). Obviously the same Aghōradēva figures again in two epigraphs of Jatavarman Vira Pandya wherein the preceptor is stated to belong to the Gnānāmṛtācārya lineage (359, 361 of 1916). Thus, Jīyar *santāna* and Gnānāmṛtācārya *sāntāna* appear to be synonyms. The Gōlaki affiliation of these lineages is again confirmed by these epigraphs. 359 of 1916 mentions a teacher by name Pukaḻipperumāḷ as having received some land in return for his expounding "Tirugnānam" in the temple of Valisvara, Tiruvalisvaram, (for details see Swamy, 1971).

3. *Tiruchchattimuṟṟam* lineage

This lineage, of which we hear in the 13th century, had its orbit within the Tanjore district, and most of the concerned epigraphs are

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dated in the regnal years of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III. Alagiya-tiruchchirrambala-mudaiyar *maṭha* and Tirugnānasambanda *maṭha* (392 of 1908), Tavapperumāḷ *maṭha* (108, 109 of 1911) and Kuttāḍum-nāyanār *maṭha* (218 of 1908), belonged to this line of teachers; in addition, there were unnamed monasteries at Kuttalam (495 of 1907) and Agatiyanpalli (504A of 1904), both in the Tanjore district. The names of the teachers are:

Gnāna-śiva	393 of 1908
Somanāthadeva-mudaliyār	108, 109 of 1911; 513 of 1904
Iśāna-śivācārya	220 of 1908
Paripūrṇa-śivācārya	218 of 1908

This lineage had a branch-monastery by name Nārpattennāyiravan *maṭha* in Tiruvavaduturai in the reign of Kulottunga I (150 of 1925; A. D. 1111). Two undated inscriptions from Tiruvanaikka (Jambukeśvaram), Tiruchi district, incised probably in the 13th century, refer to a *maṭha* of the same name in this place also (486, 487 of 1908). It is recorded that this *maṭha* was built by one Āvūruḍaiyān Śoḷakon and was meant for feeding ascetics (486 of 1908). It is significant to learn that these *maṭhas* were presided over by the teachers of the Tiruchchattimurram lineage and one Namaśśivāya-dēvar was presiding over the Nārpettennāyiravan *maṭha* at Tiruvanaikkaval (ARE, Part II, para 53).

4. *Nandikēśvara* lineage

Monasteries belonging to this lineage were situated at Virapandi, Madurai district (Āmuṇḍa *maṭha*, 422 of 1907), Tiruvorriyur, Chingleput district (Nandikēśvara *maṭha*, 239 of 1912), and at a place called Vedagiri-Varanasi-pattinam (Mānamperiyān *maṭha*, 560 of 1911); Aghorādeva, Ariyavtatamkonda-mudaliyār and Gnānāmṛtadeva were the teachers associated with these monasteries respectively.

The Nandikēśvara *santāna* is said to have affiliation with what has been called *Āmuṇḍa maṭha*. If the latter name is a variant of Āmardaka *maṭha*, Mahāgaṇapati-nāyanār (569 of 1917) who appears to be identical with Mahāgaṇapati-bhaṭṭa alias Svāmidēvar (465 of 1917) should also belong here. These two epigraphs of the 15th century refer him to Āmardāśrama in Rāḍhā-varāndigrāma, a village in the Gauḍa-rāṣṭra on the bank of the Ganges in Uttarāpatha; he is also stated to be a teacher of the Āmardāśramācārya lineage (569 of 1917).

The latter name is obviously indicative of the Āmardāśrama founded by Rudra-śiva (Āmardakatīrthanātha) of the Mattamayūra clan. Rāḍhā and Varāndri are old topographical divisions of modern Bengal (El. XXI. no. 37); Mirashi (1955) locates Āmardaka in Malwa.

5. *Kīḻai-maṭha* lineage

The preceptors of this lineage were also called *mudaliyārs* and belonged to the monastery at Tiruvarur (Selva-tiruvarur), Tanjore district. It is likely that the Vaḍakkīḻ *maṭha* (169 of 1926) in the same place may be identical with the Kīḻai *maṭha* in view of its preceptor Vāgīśapperumāḷ having belonged to the *mudaliyār* group (Mudaliyārppiḷḷai Vāgīśapperumāḷ). This lineage was wide spread in the 13th century: Madurai, Tanjore, South Arcot and Tirunelveli. The teachers associated with these *maṭhas* were:

Kayilāyadēvan alias Śivadēva	Vikkiramangalam, Madurai district (617 of 1926)
Vāmā-śiva mudaliyār	Tiruvaigavur, Tanjore district (56 of 1914)
Mudaliyārppiḷḷai Vāgīśapperumaḷ	Pamani, Tanjore district (169 of 1926)
Vāgīsvara-dēva	Chidambaram, South Arcot district (483 of 1920)
Purappavaḷa-śiva mudaliyār	Sermadevi, Tirunelveli district (652 of 1916)
Tirunattapperumān, disciple of Śivapādahṛdaya	Tiruvarur, Tanjore district (131, 132 of 1894)
Vandan-dēva, disciple of Astradēva	„ „

These teachers become connected with the mainline of the Gōlaki *vaṁśa* through an inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya which states that a teacher by name Aḷagiya-tiruchchirrambalam-uḍaiyār was a disciple of the Kīḻai *maṭha*, which in turn was an institution at Tirupparankunram under the Gōlaki school (403 of Madurai, Rangacharya). The Kīḻai *maṭha* also figures in 657 of 1916 (AD?1260) from Sermadevi, Tirunelveli and in 131 of 1894 (SII. V. No. 420); the letter records the existence of a Terkil *maṭha* at Tirunelveli, which again had affiliation with Gōlaki (Bhikṣhā) school. The Kīḻai-*matha* lineage also finds mention in a Pāndya record, probably of the 13th century, from Tirunelveli (131 of 1894).

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6. *Meykaṇḍar* lineage

We hear of this lineage in epigraphy for the first time in the 15th century. An inscription from the Tiruttalisvara temple, Tiruputtur, Ramanathapuram district, states that one Tiruvambalamuḍaiyār Maṟaignānasambandar of the Meykaṇḍar lineage who was residing in the *maṭha* of the village received a specified measure out of the temple lands for having composed an epic called *Ōṅgukōyilpurāṇam* (180 of 1935/6, AD 1484). If the *maṭha* referred to in this inscription is the same as the one mentioned in another record incised some 25 years later in the same temple, — and this appears to be very likely —— then the evidence to associate the *maṭha* with the Gōlaki school becomes clear; because, the latter epigraph mentions a teacher by name Iśāna-śiva of the Lakṣādhyāyi lineage who was residing in the *maṭha* (178 of 1935/6, AD 1504).

Tirumalai-nāyanār Candraśekhara-a disciple of Satyagnānadarśani of the Meykaṇḍar lineage at Tiruvannamalai — received a gift of land for having composed another epic called Iraṭaip-purāṇam (485 of 1937/8, AD 1510). Writing the accounts of the *maṭha*, making arrangements for the recitation of hymns in the presence of the deity and supervising the supply of flower-garlands to the god were the items of work entrusted to Sattaipperumāḷ Dhanmakuttan, a disciple of this lineage (202 of 1935/6, AD 1546). A teacher by name Meignāna-māmuni, disciple of one Gnāna-dāsika of Kanchipuram is mentioned as another member of this lineage (207 of 1936/7, AD 15th century).

Of the names of teachers mentioned above, a *maṭhādhipati* Maṟaignānasambanda, obviously different from the one mentioned in the above paragraph, figures in an epigraph of the 13th century (522 of 1904, AD 1235/6); similarly, another Satyadarśani finds mention in the year AD 1382 (642 of 1904); and a Meykaṇḍa-nāyanār of Nallur, who received the Parianāṭṭu *maṭha* as a gift, occurs in 380 of 1916 (S. 1590, Kollam 840). It is difficult to categorically accommodate these teachers under the Meykaṇḍar lineage. Also, if the preceptor Śivaprakāśa, often included in the Meykaṇḍa lineage by certain authors (Anon, 1962; Arunachala Gounder, 1964) is the same as the one figuring in 164 and 173 of 1935/6, then the conclusion that he belonged to the Bhikṣā-maṭha (Lakṣādhyāyi) lineage of the Gōlaki school becomes irresistible.

7. *Lesser known* lineages

Epigraphs also refer to a few more lineages with rather meagre information. It is by no means certain that all these belonged to the Gōlaki School. Yet some of them indicate their probable affinities to it. We hear of Viṣakaṇṭadāvar and Bhaṭṭavīra lineages; one Tavapperumān, a disciple of Ellaiyillāda-dāvar belonged to the former and Anapāya, disciple of Mahādeva was a member of the latter. Śivamutti-kāttan (131 of 1894), who was also probably called Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār (132 of 1894) was a follower of Aḻagiyanāyakan lineage and was a disciple of Uyyakoṇḍa-dāvar. All the teachers were residing in the *Māḻigai* maṭha, Tirunelveli. There was also another monastery by name Terkil *maṭha* in the same place; it was presided over by the teachers of the Kīḻai-matha lineage amongst whom was one Aṟamira-ittap-perumān, disciple of Aṟukkavanrāndār. Another Terkil *maṭha* in Madurai had a teacher by name Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyān, a disciple of Nilakaṇṭa-Śiva (131, 132 of 1894; SII. V. Nos, 420, 421).

The Tirugnānasambandan *maṭha* in the temple of Mūlanātha, Tenkarai (near Solavandan), Madurai district, was presided over by Umaiyorubhāgar who belonged to Pandarangavāṇar lineage (126 of 1910, AD 1281). There was an Āṇḍār-marudapperumāḷ lineage functioning at Tiruchchengattankudi; it was represented by the teacher Namaśśivāyadāvan (76 of 1922, AD 1232). Śembaikkuḍimudaliyār lineage in the Āndār-empirānār *maṭha* is mentioned in an epigraph of Rajendra Cola (584 of 1908).

8. *The so-called Mudaliyār* lineage

Some of the epigraphs incised in the time of the Cola king Rajendra III and of the Pandya rulers, Vira Pandya and Kulasekhara I refer the teachers or their lineages as :

Tiruchchattimurrattu-mudaliyār	218, 220, 392 of 1908
Sōmanātha-dāva mudaliyār	109 of 1911
Pandarangavāṇar santānattu mudaliyār	126 of 1910
Bhikṣāmaḍattu mudaliyār	164 of 1935/6

Such an usage continued into the Vijayanagar period :

Tiruppuṇavāśal mudaliyār (523–5 of 1962/3).

Substitution of the honorific Tamil term *mudaliyār* (= *mudalvar*, in the sense of 'one who commands', leader, teacher, the head, etc.) in place of its Samskṛt equivalent *ācārya* was of common parlance in the epigraphs of the 13th century. Thus, Tavapperumāḷ-maḍattu-mudaliyār (108 of 1911) simply means the *ācārya* (preceptor) belonging to the Tavapperumāḷ monastery. Similarly, Pandarangavāṇar-santānattu-mudaliyār denotes the preceptor of the Pandarangavāṇar lineage.

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Therefore the term *mudaliyār* in the epigraphic parlance of the medieval period is nothing more than an honorific and should not be confused either as being indicative of a caste, sect or community of the Tamil people, or as referring to a lineage constituted exclusively of indigenous people (Rajamanikkam, 1958). There is no basis whatever to recognize lineages of Tamil-Śaiva-maṭhas as distinct from the Gōlaki-maṭha lineages.

9. *Summung-up on the Gōlaki-affiliated lineages*

The immigration of the teachers belonging to the Gōlaki school of Śaivism from North India to Andhra and Tamil countries appears to have commenced in the 10th century AD. Iśāna-Śiva, the *rājaguru* of Rajaraja I (SII. II. Nos. 9, 90, 91) had already established himself in the Rajarajesvaram temple, Tanjore in the latter half of this century. This kings's successor, Rajendra I had Sarva-śiva as his royal preceptor (SII. II. No. 20) and also was instrumental in accommodating this teacher's immediate disciples (śiṣya) and their disciples (paraśiṣya)—all hailing from Ārya-dēśa, Madhya-dēśa and Gauḍa-dēśa—in his domain. This is not a surprising event in view of the fact that Rajendra had established contacts with these countries in North India and that he even conquered 'takkaṇa-lāṭa', that is, Daksiṇa-Rāḍha (EI. IX. p. 283). It was again through his efforts that numerous Śivācāryās were introduced into the Tamil country (see Introduction to Trilōcana-śivācārya's *Siddhāntasārāvaḷi*.)

It also appears that the inflow of the Gōlaki Śaivas into Tamilakam was not accomplished at a single step, but continued to take place in successive periods. Some of the epigraphs cleafly indicate this position. Gnāna-śiva alias Umāpatidēva and Srīkanta-śambhu, brother of a certain Gōsvamimiśra, came over to settle down at Arapakkam, Chingleput district and Accutamangalam, Tanjore district in the 12th century (20 of 1899 and 402 of 1925 respectively). The 13th century records are explicit in referring the immigrants to their place of origin and affiliation. Sōmanātha ("Svāmidēvar") hailing from Uttarāgrahāra, Uttara-rāṣṭra, Uttarāpatha, settled down in Chidambaram, South Arcot (9 of 1935/6, AD 1219); Iśāna-śiva-ravaḷar of the Gōlaki *vaṁśa*, Lakṣādhyayi *santāna* belonging to Āryavarta found a new home in Piranmalai, Ramanathapuram (209 of 1924? AD 1226); Gangōḷi Iśvara-śiva came over from Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha and settled down in Chidambaram (105 of 1934/5, AD 1252) and Gangōḷi Gnāna-śiva ("Svāmidēvar"), obviously from the same locale, found settlement in Tirunamanallur, South Arcot

(242 of 1939/40, AD 1235); Iśvara-śiva, belonging to Kaḷar in Uttara-dēśa, found placement in Aranmanai-siruvayal, Ramanathapuram (47 of 1924, AD. 1294).

It is interesting to note that in addition to the Śaiva teachers of the Gōlaki school, yet another Śaiva denomination, represented by the preceptors of the Āmardakāśrama, also trickled in small numbers. This school was initiated by one Rudra-śiva of the Mattamayūra clan as already stated. We hear of one Mahāgaṇapati* nāyanār of Āmardāśrama, Rāḍha-varēndi-grāma in Gauḍarāṣṭra, who had settled down in Kuṟṟālam, Tirunelveli district in the 15th century (465, 569 of 1917). Two undated records from Madurai district mention Gnānamūrti-dēva (560 of 1911) and Aghōra-dēva (422 of 1907); both these teachers are said to belong to Āmuṇḍa *maṭha*. As suggested already, if Āmuṇḍa is taken as a corruption of Āmardaka, then the Gōlaki affiliation becomes tenable. However, this line of teachers does not appear to have exercised influence of any recognizable magnitude.

The Gōlaki school, on the contrary, not only exhibits stabilization but also a high degree of proliferation into specific lineages in the 13th century (Fig. 1). The Lakṣādhyāyī (Bhikṣā) lineage which constituted the main trunk having had an unbroken chain from the 11th to the 16th centuries, gave rise to numerous side branches called *santānas* (lineages), of which the Tiruchchattimuṟṟam branch, having sprouted in the earlier part of the 12th century, grew continuously for the next 200 years. Nandikēśvara, Māḷigai-maṭha, Śembaikkuḍi, Marudapperumāḷ, Pandarangavāṇar branches arose in the earlier part of the 13th century and died off towards the close of the same century or, more probably, became re-absorbed into the main trunk. The Kīḻai-maṭha branch originated about the middle of the 13th century and survived throughout the following century and is then heard of no more.

Although Meykaṇḍa's date has been presumed to fall in the middle part of the 13th century on the basis of an epigraph incised in the period of Rajaraja III (485 of 1902, AD 1232), we begin to hear of the lineage named after him only in the 16th century. It is difficult to account for the conspicuous gap of more than 200 years between Meykaṇḍa's time and that of the founding of a lineage named after him. The traditional chronicles of Tiruvāvaḍuturai ādhīnam (Anon, 1962;

* Mahāganapati in this context refers to a State in the yogic attainment of a *siddha* (see Kaundinya, 1.27-8). Therefore this word should not be confused with the Vināyakap-piḷḷaiyār, a popular deity in South India.

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Minakshisundaram Pillai, 1950) categorically state that Aruṇandidēvar received instruction in *Śivagnānabōdam* from Meykaṇḍa himself, and this continued in regular teacher-pupil succession from the former through Maṟaignānasambanda, Umāpati, Aruṇamaśśivāya, Śivaprākaśa to Namaśśivāya (Pancākṣara-dēśika), who has been credited with the founding of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai ādhīnam. Although it is likely that Maṟaignānasambanda of the above lineage is identical with the person referred to in 522 of 1904 (AD 1235/6), the other preceptors of this lineage do not find mention in the inscriptions; similarly, the preceptors mentioned in epigraphy cannot be located in the lineages given in the Ādhīnam chronicles. Yet, both the Meykaṇḍa and Tiruvāvaḍuturai lineages are of post-Meikaṇḍa period and each of them bears unmistakable alliance to the Lakṣadhāyī (Bhikṣā) pedigree. Śivaprakāśa of the former is said to have been a disciple of the Bhikṣā *maṭha* (164 of 1935/6); it is likely that this preceptor is identical with the *guru* of Pancākṣara-dēśika of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai ādhīnam. The succession of preceptors in the Tiruvāvaḍuturai and its proliferated pontifical seats even today use the honorific *Śrī-la-Śrī*..., which appears to be nothing but an abbreviation of Śrī-lakṣādhyayī-Śrī..... (compare Śrīmallakṣādhyayī..... in 55 of Kolar EC X, AD 1285, which is clearly indicative of their direct affiliation to the Lakṣādhyāyī (Bhikṣā) *maṭha* of the Gōlaki pedigree.

THE GŌLAKI MATHA

Institutions and preceptors of the Gōlaki affiliation

Apart from those epigraphs that speak of the main Gōlaki pedigree or its directly related branches as detailed in the previous pages, there are yet abundant data in epigraphic literature which, however, do not lend themselves to be accommodated under specific lineages for lack of authentic information. All the same, these records do suggest close affinities with the main pedigree or, with the type of Śaivism followed by the Gōlaki *vaṁśa*. This data, as a whole, is significant as it emphasizes the popularity and wide geographical spread of the cult from the 11th to the 14th centuries in the Tamil country (Map 2).

11th century—All the epigraphs of this period belong to the Cōḻa kings from Rajendra I to Kulottunga I. Rajendra's religious preceptor's name was perpetuated by the establishment of a monastery, Sarvadēvan *maṭha* at Tiruvāvaḍuturai and *maheśvaras* were residing therein (103 of 1925, AD 1040). Two of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions refer to the sale of

lands to *maṭhas* and one of them specifies a Pavitramāṇikkam *maṭha* (251 of 1915, AD 1041: 247 of 1915, AD 1251). These epigraphs are incised on the walls of the Chandramauḷīśvara temple, Brahmadēsam, North Arcot district and presumably refer to the same *maṭha*. There appears to have been yet another monastery by name Rajanārāyaṇa *maṭha* at the same place during the time of Kulōttunga I (179 of 1918, AD 1075). Other epigraphs of this ruler also mention a Tiruvīdi *maṭha* in Tiruvāvaḍuturai (147 of 1925, AD 1084) and Mārkaṇḍēyan *maṭha* in Tirukkadaiyur, both in Mayuram taluk (243 of 1925, AD 1096). An undated record, perhaps of the same century, speaks of a teacher, Vāma-śiva, who consecrated the image of Caṇḍēśvara in the temple at Tirunamanallur, South Arcot district (241 of 1939/40).

12th century—We hear the names of a few more monasteries from Tiruvāvaḍuturai: Tirunīlaviṭankan *maṭha* (144 of 1925, AD 1101), Paramāṇavācakan *matha* (155 of 1925, AD 1109), Śivalōkanāyakan *maṭha* (148 of 1925, AD 1116). The last mentioned monastery received additional patronage in the time of Vikramacoladeva (149 of 1925, AD 1121). There was a *maṭha* for feeding Śivayōgis and tapasvins in Ratnagiri, Kulittalai taluk, Tiruchi district, named after one Eḻuṉṟavan (179 of 1914, AD 1109). Kulōttungacōḻan *maṭha* was obviously founded after the king Kulōttunga I in Sivapuram, Kumbakonam taluk, for feeding mahēsvaras (277 of 1927, AD 1075); this institution also continued to flourish in the time of Vikrama-Cola when it received additional grants for continuing the purpose for which it was founded (272 of 1927, AD 1122). Other monasteries mentiond in the epigraphs of Vikramacola are:

Aingāṟṟenaṉ *maṭha* (60 of 1930/1, AD 1121)-Kunjanur, Kumbakonam taluk, Tanjore

Parasamayakōḻari *maṭha* (534 of 1918, AD 1121–Achchapuram, Tanjore

Tirucirṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ *maṭha* (438 of 1918, AD 1122 Tirukkarukavur, Siyali taluk, Tanjore

Ācāraśīlan *maṭha* (33 of 1932/3, AD 1123) Palur, Chingleput

Amongst the religious teachers "Svāmidēvar" Srīkaṇṭa-śiva of Mangalakkudi finds mention in 301 of 1907, an epigraph of Kulōttunga I. Rangacharya (1915) is inclined to identify this teacher with the author of *Brahmamīmāmsa-bhāṣya*. Vikrama-cōḻa's epigraphs speak of a Gnāna-śiva alias Aḻagiya-viṭankan-uyyavandān (144-6 of 1926,

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AD 1112). Another Gnāna-śiva alias Umāpati-dēva finds mention in a record of Rajādhirāja (?II) and is spoken of as having been a native of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, Gauḍa-dēsa (20 of 1899, AD ? 1168). During the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, one Śrīkaṇṭa-śambhu, again from the Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā country, is said to have consecrated the god Sōmēśvara (402 of 1925, AD 1182). Probably the same Śrīkaṇṭa-śambhu's disciple, Sōmēśwara, the *guru* of Kulōttuṅga III consecrated Śiva and Parvati in Tribhuvanam, Kumbakonam (190 of 1907). One Pukaḻidēvar alias Nanandūr-uḍaiyār was presiding over Tirumuḍiyālundān *gukal* (monastery) at Tiruvaigavur, Tanjore district, in the time of the same king (54 of 1914).

13th century—The Gōlaki-affiliated institutions of this century extensively proliferated throughout the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya territories. During the regnal years of Rājarāja III a preceptor by name Somanāṭha-dēva, also called "Svāmidēvar" belonging to Uttarāgrahāra in Uttara-rāṣṭra received a grant for maintaining a flower garden and four gardeners in Chidambaram (9 of 1935/6, AD 1219). Āṇḍār Vidiviṭaṅkap-perumāḷ was one of the pontiffs of Vaṇṇāra-mādēva-āṇḍār *maṭha* at Tiruvalangāḍu, Tanjore district (96 of 1926, AD 1227). We also hear of a Namaśśivaya-dēvan, who was in charge of Siṟuttondar-*maṭha*: he is said to belong to the Āṇḍār-Marudapperumāḷ lineage. This record comes from Siyattunangai, Nannilam taluk, Tanjore district (76 of 1922, AD 1232). The Gomuktēśvara temple at Tiruvavaduturai appears to have had a *maṭha* which was intimately connected with the temple: Kūṟṟunkuḍaiyan-tiruvēkambamuḍaiyān alias Tiruvāvaḍuturai-uḍaiyān was the head of this monastery (156 of 1925, AD 1237).

An epigraph of Vira-ganḍa-gopala from Walajapet, North Arcot district, mentions that Mudaliyār-Nandikēśvara-śiva received a gift of land for the maintenance of Aruntavamśeidār *maṭha* (60 of 1945/6). In the time of Vijaya-ganḍa-gopala a Tyāgavinōdan *maṭha* was functioning in Tirukkachchiyur, Chinglepet district and Viśvēśvara-dēva, a mudaliyār was connected with it (58 of 1932/3).

During the period of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, there was, at Udaiyalur, Kumbakonam taluk, a monastery by name Abhimuktan *maṭha* which was erected by Vidyāśiva-paṇḍita alias Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyār-Tiruttaigūr-nāyanār, who was a Tapasvin from Sivapadaśekharamangalam (311 of 1927). It is interesting to note that the latter place had been important as a Śrī-mahēśvara-sthānam (303 of 1927) in the time of Vikrama-Cōḻa. Another record of the same

Sundara Pandya speaks of an Īśvara-śiva who had the title kavi-rāja (47 of 1924). A religious preceptor, Śrīkaṇṭa-śiva, was the head of the Tirugnānasambandan *maṭha* at Tiruputtur, Ramanathapuram district (129 of 1908). A Bhavitācārya alias Dakṣiṇāmurti-śiva was residing in a *maṭha* at Milalaiyur-pattinam (52 of 1946/47).

Gangōḻi-Gnāna-śiva alias "Svāmidēva" had built a temple to the god Visveswara and the Pallava Kopperunjinga made grants to it (242 of 1939/40, AD 1235). Another record of the same ruler mentions another teacher, Gangōḻi-Īśvara-śiva alias Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyār of Dakṣiṇa-Rādhā country (105 of 1934/5, AD c. 1252).

Apart from these religious teachers and institutions there were several other *maṭhas* which fit in somewhere in the Gōlaki network; these institutions were essentially of philanthrophic nature and were distributed in the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya countries:

Cōḻas

Valmaravan *maṭha*, Palur, Chingleput, 26 of 1932/3, AD 1209

Tillaivāḻandaṇan *maṭha*, Tiruvenkadu, North Arcot, 404 of 1922, AD 1211

Ambarakkaḍaiyan *maṭha*, Tiruppalaivanam, Chingleput, 350 of 1928/9, AD 1223

Vaṇṇāra-mādēva-āṇḍan *maṭha* Tiruvalangadu, Tanjore, 93 of 1926, AD 1227

Gaṇḍa-gōpala-māṇikka *maṭha*, Tiruppalaivanam, Chingleput, 330 of 1928/9, AD 1234

Vaḍakkiḻ *maṭha*, Tirumakkottai, Tanjore, 262 of 1917, AD 1247

Manuviḻangapperumāḷ *maṭha*, Koyil-devarayanpettai, Tanjore, 278 of 1923, AD 1251

Pāṇḍyas

Vīrapaṇḍitan *maṭha*, Tiruvalisvaram, Tirunelveli, 357 of 1916.

Mudaliyār *maṭha*, Tirukkalakkudi, Ramanathapuram, 35 of 1916.

Śōramān-perumāḷ *maṭha*, Iraniyur, Ramanathapuram, 8 of 1926.

Naralōkasūriran *maṭha*, Madurai, 4 of 1915.

14th century and after—The frequency of occurrence of epigraphs referring to the Gōlaki school of Śaivism or to its affiliated institutions and teachers become sporadic rather suddenly during this and the following centuries. The small number of these institutions that continued to survive came under the patronage of the Vijayanagar

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dynasty in their newly conquered territories of the Tamil country; those that lay farther south received help from the last of the Pāṇḍya rulers.

305 of 1919 (AD 1359) of Kampaṇa Oḍaiyar appears to be the earliest record of the Vijayanagar dynasty referring to a teacher, Viśveśvara-dēva of *Periamaṭha* at Tiruvannamalai. Another epigraph of Bukka II records a gift of land to Satyadarśani who was the head of a monastery at Ramagiri, Chingleput district (642 of 1904, AD 1382). During the period of the Saluva rulers, a teacher, Aghora-nāyanār, was residing in a monastery at Tiruvennainallur (408 of 1921, AD 1478) and another preceptor, Namaśśivāya-dēva was attached to the Terkil *maṭha* (95 of 1942/3). Kandasvami *maṭha* was flourishing in Tiruvadi, Cuddalore taluk during the reign of Sadasiva (411 of 1921, AD 1562).

Mahāganapati-nāyanār alias Vāmadēva-nāyanār, a teacher belonging to the Āmardāśrama lineage, received grants of land from the Pāṇḍya kings of the 15th/16th century (465, 516 of 1917). Sembakavan-perumāḷ of the Ūruḍaiya-mudali lineage finds mention in 582 of 1917 and another teacher, Umaiyorubhāga-mudali was maintaining a monastery in Kuttālam, Tirunelveli district (601 of 1917, AD c. 1572).

Tirugnanasambandan maṭha and Āḷuḍaiyappiḷḷai

The epigraphic records mentioning this monastery belong, at the earliest, to the 13th century AD. That the monasteries bearing this name had been distributed over a large part of the Tamil country may be witnessed from the following records:

585 of 1908	Rājarāja III	Tiruchi
199 of 1932/3	,,	Tanjore
392 of 1908	,,	,,
126 of 1910	Kulasekhara I	Madurai
13 of 1894	,,	,,
311 of 1927/8	Kulottunga III	Ramanathapuram
129 of 1908	Sundara Pāṇḍya I	,,
98 of 1924	Vira Pāṇḍya	,,
359 of 1916	,,	Tirunelveli
132 of 1894	Sundara Pāṇḍya	,,
131 of 1894	,,	,,

The monastery at Tiruppalatturai (585 of 1908) was meant for feeding the māhēśvaras, while the others were involved in the spread of religion through the presiding or residing teachers. Many of these

epigraphs refer to the resident pontiffs bearing names such as,—Īśāna-dēva (311 of 1927/8), Śrīkaṇṭa-śiva (129 of 1908), Gnāna-śiva (392 of 1908), Tatpuraṣa-śiva (SII. V. No. 301), Vāgīsapperumāḷ (199 of 1932/3), Pukaḻipperumāḷ (359 of 1916), Paramātma-dēva (98 of 1924) etc. Of these, Tatpuraṣa-śiva was a pontiff of the Dakṣina-Gōlaki *maṭha* at Tiruvarur, Pukaḻipperumāḷ belonged to the Gnānāmṛtācārya lineage, Gnāna-śiva was a descendant of the Tiruchchattimuṟṟam lineage, and the monastery at Tenkarai, Madurai, district, belonged to the Paṇḍarangavāṇar lineage. We have already seen on a previous page that all these lineages were the direct branches of the Gōlaki mainline. Furthermore, 131 and 132 of 1894 amply prove the inter-relationships that existed between some of these lineages and monasteries with the Gōlaki school.

It has been shown elsewhere (Swamy, 1971) that Āḷuḍaiyappiḷḷai, presumed to be the first in order of the so-called *samayācāryas*, acquired the new name "Tirugnānasambanda" from the earlier part of the 11th century. The new name found wide currency during the following centuries so much so monasteries, temple gardens (*nandavanam*), specific alcoves or corridors of temples, and personal names were chosen after Tirugnānasambandan (Avvai Doraswami Pillai, 1958; Singaravelan, 1969). The significant point is that the religious teachers of the Gōlaki lineages themselves adopted this name (eg. 131, 132 of 1894), thereby proving their having absorbed this *samayācarya* during the period of consolidation of their cult in the Tamil country. Thus the new designation for Āḷuḍaiyappiḷḷai was an act of the Gōlaki disciples.

Śaiva monasteries at Jambukesvaram, Tiruchi

Jambukesvaram (Tiruvanaikka), Tiruchi district, was a center of Śaiva activity during the 13th/14th centuries. Contemporary epigraphs refer to the following monasteries situated over the place and their pontiffs:

1.	Tirugnānasambandan *maṭha*	585 of 1908, AD 1237
2.	Akhilāṇḍēśvari *maṭha* (Viśvēśvara-śivācārya)	196 of Pudukkottai State, AD 1340
3.	Singamadēvar *maṭha*	5 of 1937/8, AD 1241
4.	Āṇḍār-empirānār-*maṭha*	584 of 1908, AD 1251
5.	Nārpatteṇṇāyiravan *maṭha*	486, 487 of 1908
6.	Naḍuvil *maṭha* (Vyāpaka-śiva)	352 of 1914

In addition, we also hear of an Ēkavīrāmbā *maṭha* in the 18th century, presided over by Chandrasēkharadīkṣita, son of Śrīkaṇṭa-dikṣita, son of Sadāśivavājapēyayāji (c. p. 23 of 1937/8, AD 1754).

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Although all the above monasteries were Śaivite institutions, they represent a heterogeneous lot in the sense that they belonged to diverse sectarian denominations. It has been shown on previous pages that the items 1, 4, 5 and 6 had affiliations with the Gōlaki-Lakṣādhyāyī school. The denomination of item 3 is not known. There is no evidence to presume any relationship between the Gōlaki-Lakṣādhyāyī line on the one hand and item 2 together with the Ēkavīrāmba *maṭha* on the other. The teachers in the lineage of the latter two monasteries have been described as having performed Vēdic rituals: they were strict followers of *śruti* and *smṛti*, and had observed the Pāsupata-vrata. Among the achievements of these teachers are mentioned the performance of *pāsuka-caturmasya* and *vājapēya* (Mahalingam, 1957), in addition to building several *mantapas*, pillars, shrines, etc. Information such as this leaves the over-all impression that the teachers of these monasteries were the followers of Vedic Pāsupata tenets.

The Nārpattennāyiravan *maṭha* which was presided over by the teachers of the Tiruchchattimuṟṟam lineage in the 13th century is heard of no more in the following centuries. At present, this building is in the possession of the Saṅkarācārya of Kāmakōṭi-pītham. The Jambukesvaram grant of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha Nāyaka, dated in the year AD 1708 claims that it was the 'own' *maṭha* of Saṅkaracarya. Visvanatha (1921/2), who edited this grant, suspects that the insertion of the word 'own' (*svanta*) has been purposeful, in view of the existence of earlier epigraphs (486, 487 of 1908) of the 13th century, clearly indicating that the building was the *maṭha* belonging to the followers of the Gōlaki school.

Organizational aspects of the Gōlaki monasteries

A large number of the *maṭhas* associated with the Lakṣādhyāyī and other lineages of the Gōlaki school were meant for feeding and for providing charities of some kind or other to the needy. These institutions were dispersed throughout the Tamil land during the medieval centuries (Map 2). A study of the relevant inscriptions as detailed in Appendix I indicates that *māhēśvaras* resided in the monasteries headed by a pontiff. They constitute a large body of recipients of endowments with the specific purpose of feeding them. *Tapasvins*, *apūrvins* and *śiva-yōgis* also resided in some monasteries; also, itinerant kinds of such devotees (*dēśantari*) were frequently visiting these charitable institutions who received food and shelter. *Andars* formed yet another group of inmates in the *maṭhas*, who appear to have had a subordinate status, attending to the various

service in the temples which were associated with the respective monasteries. Hymn-singers, destitutes, *dēvaraḍiyars* and *paradēśis* were also entertained in some institutions.

A detailed study of the *māhēśvaras* and *rudras*, and their role in the working of Śaivite temples and *maṭhas* will form the topic of another contribution. It would suffice here to emphasise that they, as a body, shouldered all the administrative responsibilities in the working of these institutions. The *maṭha* and the associated temple had complementary relationships. The *māhēśvaras* received all endowments made to the temple as well as to the *maṭha* excepting those that were specified for burning lamps (*nondāviḷakku*); in the largest majority of cases the latter kind of bequests were received by the *Śiva-brāhmaṇas* who were in direct charge of performing daily worship to the enshrined *linga* in the main and subsidiary shrines. The *māhēśvaras* were the final authority in appointing the *Śiva-brāhmaṇas*, in controlling the economy of the temple, in supervising its administrative and organizational affairs, and in maintaining the day to day working of the temple. In short, they were the supreme custodians of the temple-monastery complex which is evidenced by the ubiquitous occurrence of the phrase "paṇmāhēśvarar-rakṣai" in the grants made during the medieval centuries of Tamil Nadu.

Several preceptors of the Gōlaki school are credited with the building of new temples or *maṭhas*. The teacher Gnānatman erected a Nāyaka-śivālaya in Tiruvallam, North Arcot district (3 of 1890, AD 1314); Iśāna-śiva built a temple for Śiva in Kulambandal, in the same district (414 of 1902, AD 1034): Srīkaṇṭa-śiva, the *rājaguru* of Kulōttuṇga I consecrated god in Kulōttuṇga-colisvaram (301 of 1907): another teacher of the same name is said to have established god Sōmanātha in Achchutamangalam, Tanjore district (402 of 1925, AD 1182); Vāma-śiva consecrated Candēśwara in a shrine built by him in Tirunamanallur, South Arcot district (241 of 1939/40); Gangoḷi-Gnana-śiva set up god Viśvēśvara in the same place (242 of 1939/40, AD 1235). Iśāna-śiva, a contemporary of Kulōttuṇga III built a monastery by name Tirugnānasambandan-gukai (311 of 1927/8, AD 1207); Vidyā-śiva of the Srīmāhēśwarasthānam (Sivapadasekharamangalam) erected Abhimuktan *maṭha* in Udaiyalur, Tanjore district (311 of 1927, AD 1283): Vāgīśapperumāḷ established the Tirugnānasambandan *maṭha* in Nodiyur of the same district (199 of 1932/3, AD 1236).

We also obtain a glimpse of the learning and attainments of some of the religious teachers who were associated with these monasteries.

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Iśvara-śiva (Somāsvara), the royal preceptor of Kulottuṅga III was well-versed in *śaiva-darśana* and the eighteen *vidyas* (that is *Śiva-purāṇas*); he had expounded the greatness of Śiva as taught in the *Upaniṣads* (190 of 1907). The *śivayōgis* residing in the Mārkaṇḍēyan *maṭha* in Tirukkadaiyūr were versed in the Vēdas (243 of 1925, AD 1096). Aghora-śiva has been designated as "*vaidya-cakravarti*", a title indicating that he was an expert in the science of medicine (575 of 1902, AD 1287). In fact, the study of medicine was offered as a course in a *maṭha* at Tiruvāvaḍutūrai (159 of 1925. AD 1120).

Tirugnānam was obviously a religious text favoured by the disciples of the Gōlaki school. Although the scope and contents of this work are not known, it has been shown elsewhere that it was altogether different from the *tiruppadiyams* of Āḷudaiyappiḷḷai (Swamy, 1971,/1972). The Gōlaki teacher, Puka!ipperumal, was appointed to recite *Tirugnānam* in the Valiśvara temple, Tiruvalisvaram (359 of 1916, AD 1256). Eleven disciples of various *maṭhas* of the Gōlaki alliance were to read this text in the Nelliyappar temple, Tirunelveli (131, 132 of 1894); the same text was also being exponded in the Somanathadeva temple, Attur, Tiruchchendur taluk (463 of 1929/30.)

THE GŌLAKI DHARMA

In spite of the numerous epigraphs referring to the Gōlaki *Vaṁśa* and *maṭha* both in the Andhra and Tamil countries, it is unfortunate that they do not provide much information in regard to the specific tenets of the Gōlaki *dharma*. It is said that a preceptor by name Iśāna-śiva residing in the Kallu *maṭha* in Tiruputtur, Ramanathapuram district, belonged to the Lakṣādhyayī lineage and Gōlaki-*dharma* (178 of 1935/6). Although the use of the term *dharma* here may be somewhat equivalent to 'school', it is natural to expect that the 'school' must have had specific canons and tenets. Another Gōlaki *ācārya*, Viśvēśvara-śiva, the royal preceptor of the Kākatīya queen Rudramadevi, is stated to have built a "*śuddha śaiva*" monastery (94 of 1917, AD 1261; Ramayya Pantalu, 1930).

Mirashi (1955), who has assembled all the known inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era with critical commentary, concludes that the "Acharyas of the Mattamayura clan belonged to the Saiva, not the Pasupata sect." The teachers of the Mattamayūra clan founded many monastic orders such as Śaṅkhamaṭha, Tērambi, Āmardaka, etc., and the Gōlaki *maṭha* is nothing but yet another institution founded by

Sadbhāva-śambhu, who belonged to a branch of the Mattamayūra clan. Therefore the basic tenets of these schools cannot be very different from one another.

As may be gathered from Prof. Mirashi's mighty monograph, the teachers of the Mattamayūra and Gōlaki schools built temples and *maṭhas*, maintained flower gardens and feeding houses; established hospitals; gave shelter to the needy; instituted instruction of religious texts in addition to diciplines like *sāhitya*, *vyākaraṇa*, etc. It should be recalled that the acts of the Gōlaki *ācāryas* in the Andhra and Tamil countries were in no way different from those of their predecessors in the Dahaḷa (Chēdi) country.

The preceptors of the Mattamayūra clan had performed austerities (*tapas*). Śikhā-śiva is compared to a fire "who through the lustre of his austerities became a lamp (lit. bore the quality of a lamp) illuminating (lit. standing up) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness of ignorance" (Chandrahe inscription of Praśānta-śiva, EI. XXI. No. 23). The *ācāryas* were great scholars in religious literature in addition to their high degree of spiritual attainments. Vimala-śiva, the *rājaguru* of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha was born in a family of Vēdic scholars and he was himself proficient in it. Although these teachers were the "followers of the Śaiva school, they were not bigotted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudra-śiva, the *guru* of the Kalachuri king Jajalladeva I, is described as conversant not only with the *siddhāntas* of his own but also with those of other's schools; he was, besides, well read in the authoritative works of Dinnaga and others." Thus, Prabōdha-śiva was a preceptor of the Mattamayūra clan but yet appears to have spent his time amidst persons who were adepts in the *pancārthika* system of the Pāśupatas.

The *saiddhāntika* system of the Mattamayūra/Gōlaki *ācāryas* recognize three principles,—*pati* (lord), *paśu* (individual soul), and *pāśa* (fetters) and the whole system is divided into four *pādas*,—*vidyā* (the right knowledge of the three *padārthas*), *kriyā* (ceremonies like *dikṣa*, etc.,) *yōga* (meditation) and *carya* (discipline in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited). In other words, it was an essentially *āgama*-centered Śaivite religion and philosophy, although the *āgamas* themselves, at that period, might not have attained the fullness and completeness which they assumed during later periods.

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9th to 12th centuries witnessed a profuse growth of religious and philosophical literature in Sanskṛt pertaining to the Śaiva school. The authors bear unmistakable affiliation to the Gōlaki or its collateral or parent schools, some of whom resided in the Andhra and Tamil countries. The preceptors Sadyōjāti and Bhōjarāja appear to be the oldest as they have been referred to in terms of respect and gratitute by a good many of their disciple-authors. Sadyōjāta-śiva is credited with the authorship of Mokṣakārikā, Paramokṣanirasakārikā, Tattvatraya-nirṇaya, Tattva-samgraha, a *vṛtti* on Rauravāgama, and a few others. Tattvatrayanirṇaya is devoted to the treatment of *pati-paśu-pāśa* concept, and Tattva-samgraha deals with the 36 *tattvas*. Aghōra-śiva, who wrote a commentary on these two books, says that they were based on Svāyambhuvāgama. The preceptor Bhōjarāja (different from the ruler of Malava, the author of Sarasvatī-kanthābharaṇa) wrote Tattvaprakāśa; in his commentary on this work Aghōra-śiva states that Bhōjarāja was a disciple of Uttunga-śiva who lived in the Vindhyas (Sarvadarśanasamgraha attributed to Sāyana-Mādhava draws freely from Aghōra-śiva's commentary). Srīkantha-sūri's Ratna-traya deals with the explanation of Śiva-Śakti-Bindu.

Soma-śambhu was the author of Karma-kriyākānda (AD 1073). The contents of this work have been cited by Aghōra-śiva, Iśāna-śiva and also by the author of Sarvadarśanasamgraha. His teacher was a Sa-śiva whose teacher in turn was Iśāna-śiva. We learn that Soma-śambhu belonged to the lineage of Sadbhāva-śambhu (? Sa-siva) who was the founder of the Gōlaki-*maṭha*.

Iśāna-śiva (probably identical with the *rājaguru* of Rājarāja I) wrote a *paddhati*, which is known after his name, Iśāna-śiva-gurudēva-paddhati. Aghōra-śiva was the author of Kriyākramadyōtika (also called Aghōra-śiva-paddhati (AD 1158), Ratnatraya-vṛtti, Tattva-nirṇaya-vyākhya, Dīkṣa-vidhi-mṛgēndra-vṛtti-dīpika and others. According to some authors (eg. Nandimath, 1944), this preceptor lived in a *maṭha* in Chidambaram and was a disciple of Āmardaka-lineage. He mentions Srīkantha, Dhyāna-śiva, Hṛdaya-śamkara, Parama-śiva or Sarvātma-śiva as his predecessors in his Mahōtsava-vidhi.

Trilōchana-śiva was the author of Prāyaschchitta-samuchchaya, Siddhānta-sārāvali and Ratnatryōdyōta. He claims to have belonged to the lineage of Aghōra-śiva and a resident of Āmardaka-*maṭha*. He mentions the names of Durvāsa, Vyāpakēśāna, Sarvēśa, Uttunga-śamkara, Sōmaśāna, Sarvātma and Aghōra-śiva as his lineage of *gurus*.

Writings in the Tamil language bearing on the Śaiva philosophy first began to appear in the 12th century and continued through the next two centuries. The date of composition of the 14 doctrinal texts on Śaiva philosophy (known as Śaiva-siddhānta texts in modern parlance) fall within this gamut of time. Many of these texts deal with the very same concepts as in the Sanskṛt texts mentioned above,—*pati-paśu-pāśa*, the 36 *tattvas*, the five sacred letters (*pancākṣara*), etc.,—in the very same context and meaning. Some texts are written in aphorism-style while others elucidate the contents of the aphorisms; a couple of them attempt to deal with a sort of comparative account of diverse schools of Śaivaite and non-Śaivite tenets with the object of establishing the superiority of the tenets of their own school of thought.

Tiruvīyalūr Uyyavanda-dāva (12th century, AD ?1147) wrote Tiruvundiyār dealing with thoughts on *pati-paśu-pāśa* and on the realization of the ultimate reality. Tirukkaḍavūr Uyyavandār (said to be the disciple's disciple of Tiruvīyalūr Uyyavandār) is the author of Tirukkaḷirruppaḍiyār (12th century, AD ?1177) and his work elaborates the theme of Tiruvundiyār, at the same time emphasizing the importance of *yōga* for realization. Meykaṇḍa's Sivagnānabōdam, Aruṇandi-śivācārya's Śivagnāna-siddiyār and Irupā-irupadu, and Tiruvadikal Maṇavācakam kaḍandār's Uṇmaiviḷakkam appeared in the 13th century. The remaining eight works bear the authorship of Umāpati-śivācārya (doubt, however, having been expressed in regard to Uṇmai-neri-viḷakkam) who lived during the earlier part of the 14th century. These writings also are concerned with the elucidation and elaboration of certain fundamental concepts of the Śaiva (*sense structu*) school of thought.

It is unfortunate that polemics have been introduced concerning the nature of Śivagnānabōdam. – whether it is an original treatise or one that is taken from or based on some other source. That the text of Sivagnānabōdam is an adaptation or a translation in Tamil of the aphorisms contained in the *pāśa-vimōcahappaṭalam* in the Rauravāgama is maintained by the pontiffs of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai ādhīnam as may be seen from the official publications of the *maṭha* (e. g., Anon, 1962). Svami Vedachalam, Subrahmanya Pillai, Balasubrahmanya Mudaliyar and others (for full citations see Rajamanikkam, 1958) hold categorically that it was an original work. Purnalingam Pillai (1927), who represents the latter school writes: "Its thoughts were ancient, but their garb was new and largely Aryan. This fact has lead many scholars to fancy that Meikandar's work was but a translation of the twelve slokas

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in Pava Vimochanam of the Rourava Ahamas.' A comparer of the two works with a judicial frame of mind will be convinced of the truth, to wit, St. Meikandar's work was imperfectly understood by its translator into Aryan and some of the teachings were vaguely rendered." Sadasiva Pandaratttar (1963) has echoed the same thought much more emotionally.

It must be remembered that Meykanda was not the first person to write a *siddhānta* work in the Tamil language. Tiruvundiyār and Thirukkalirruppadiyār, dealing with certain aspects of the Śaiva philosophy, had already been current in the 12th century. We have seen earlier that quite a number of works in the Sanskrt language, elaborating the tenets of Śaivism had, by this time, deeply penetrated the religious and spiritual environment of the Tamil country through the agency of the Gōlaki *āçāryas*. It is also a fact that Meykanda himself was presiding over a Gōlaki *matha* in Tiruvannamalai (Duraswami Pillai, 1968). When the controversy is viewed from this background, the conclusion that Sivagnanabodam is a rendering in Tamil of the tenets contained in the Sanskrit texts of the Mattamayūra-Gōlaki School of Śaivism, is not only natural but also inevitable. Whether Meykanda tapped the source materials from the Rauravāgama or from the writings of Bhojarāja or Sadyojāti or from the numerous other writings in the Sanskrt language that were being used by the Gōlaki school, is beside the point. The fact is that Śivagnānabōdam is a text, a basic text, containing the tenets of the Śaiva school of philosphy that was being followed by the Gōlaki school. In fairness to both the Sanskrt texts propounding the Gōlaki *dharma* and the Tamil text containing the aphorisms of Śaiva siddhanta, it must be concluded that the contents of the texts in the two languages are not distinguishable from one another.

Meikanda's role in the spread of Śaivism in the Tamil country, however, stands indisputable. His rendering of the fundamental tenets of the Śaiva school of thought that was in vogue during his time into the language of the people in this part of the country catalyzed not only the rate of spread of the cult but also of the production of a vast volume of religious and philosophical literature in the Tamil language through the following centuries.

Many authors, belonging to various parts of India, between the 9th and 14th centuries recognize generally four major schools of contemporary Śaivism (*sensu latu*). Vācaspati of the 9th century speaks of

Śaiva (*sensu strictu*), Pāśupata, Kāpālika and Kāruṇika-siddhānta. The authors following him in time invariably mention the first two, although the next two are substituted by certain other systems or sects such as, Kālāmukha, Bhairava, Mahāvratadhara, Sōma-siddhānta, etc. (for details see Handiqui, 1949; Chidanandamurthy, 1966; Sinha, 1970). The uniform mention of Śaiva *and* Pāśupata by these authors is clearly indicative of their distinctive nature both at ritualistic and philosophical levels from the 9th century onwards.

The doctrine propounded by the Śaiva system, which was the one followed by the adherents of the Mattamayūra-Āmardaka-Gōlaki schools, is dualistic Śaivism, distinguished by the monistic Saivism (*Pratyabhignā*) of Kashmir. Unlike the Pāśupata, the Śaiva doctrine (Saiddhāntika Śaiva or Saiva Siddhanta) regards god as the efficient cause of the world; Śakti, His conscious energy, is the instrumental cause, and *māya*, His unconscious energy, is the material cause. The individual souls are eternal, and become identical with Śiva in release without losing their distinctiveness. At ritualistic levels, both Śaivas and Pāśupatas appear to have had some practices in common, retaining at the same time certain exclusive practices. The followers of both the systems resorted to the worship of the Śiva-linga consecrated in temples according to strict āgamic prescriptions; and in both, again, the mode of worship became infiltrated with Vādic, Tāntric and Śāktic elements in varying proportions. A Pāśupata is required to smear his entire body with sacred ash while a Śaiva should apply the same only on his forehead. The similarities and differences between the Pāśupatas and Śaivas are indicative of their origin from a common stock in the remote past, a bifurcation having occurred at a later period largely due to the new interpolations and superimpositions of philosophical concepts (Divanji, 1955).

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GROWTH OF THE ŚAIVA SCHOOL OF RELIGION IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY

Background

The Pallava rulers in the Tondaimandalam from the 6th century encouraged a type of Śaivism the relics of which have lived through centuries in the form of temples. Many an author has dwelt upon this topic but their observations and conclusions are of rather casual sort,

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From these writings one obtains the impression that the religion involved was a kind of generalized type of Śaivism, the nature of which cannot be at present restricted further. However, if the farcical play "Mattavilāsaprahasana" is presumed to be a work of the Pallava king Mahēndra I (AD 610-30), then it follows that Pāśupata and Kāpalika sects of Śaivism were already in vogue; although the question of the personal religion of the rulers or of the popular cult of Śaivism in the land remains an open problem. A somewhat similar vague situation continues till the time of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I. By this time, however, the country had seen the birth of numerous Siva temples either newly built or stone versions of the ones that had been built earlier in perishable materials (Balasubrahmanyam, 1966), particularly in the regnal years of Aditya I through Aditya II. The epigraphs of these rulers contain very little pertinent source materials that would elucidate the nature of the contemporary Śaivism. However, they do suggest the prevalence of a kind of Māhēsvara-cult, very likely of the Pāśupata type. Offering worship to the Siva-linga in the temple partaking in the temple rituals and singing hymns of praises of the Lord appear to have been the order of the day. It is quite likely that the first three *nāyanmārs* lived during this period.*

Origins

The Cōḷa kingdom extended northwards as far as Nellore during the period of Parantaka I. Rajaraja I initiated and extended conquests in territories lying still northwards (Vengi) and those farther interior from the east coast, touching as far west as the Chālukya kingdom. His son's (Rajendra I) victories stretched to lands still northwards into the regions of modern Bengal. These expeditions and conquests established free cultural intercourse and migrations between north and south India during the medieval period.

It is during the earlier part of the 9th century that the Mattamayūra clan of preceptors were being patronized by the kings of the Chēdi country and we hear of the founding of the Gōlaki *maṭha* in the Dahaḷa-maṇḍala during the reign of Yuvaraja I of the Kalachūri dynasty. It should be specially emphasized that the Śaiva (*sense strictu*) religion had been the dominant cult in this part of India even during the 8th century as evidenced by the fact that the lineages of preceptors as given in the Kalachūri records can be followed backwards in time to this century. It is not improbable that Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I (with

* This topic will be considered in a separate study.

their Pāśupata centered heritage) became highly impressed with the Śaivite cult which was prevalent in the regions of North India visited by them during their encounters as far north as Dakkaṇa-lāḍam (Dakṣina-Rāḍhā). Rājēndra I, as already mentioned, imported several families of Śivācaryas from the banks of the Ganga and had them settled in Kanchi and in the Cōḷa kingdom. We begin to hear of the names of preceptors of the Gōlaki school in the Tamil country after these northern conquests of the Cōḷa kings: Iśāna-śiva was the *rājaguru* of Rājarāja I (SII. II. Nos. 9, 91), and Sarva-śiva, of Rājēndra I (SII. II. No. 20). It is during the regnal years of these kings that the texts Siddhānta-sāra, Iśāna-gurudēva-paddhati, etc., were composed, obviously on the Cōḷa soil. Thus the 9th/10th centuries mark the beginnings of the Gōlaki school of Śaivism in the Tamil country.

Initial penetration and interactions

The building of the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore and of the Gangaikonda-Cōḷisvaram at Gangai-kondacholapuram are hallmarks in the history of the Gōlaki Śaivism in the Tamiḷakam. The Cōḷa kings who caused these temples to be erected are said to have imported a large number of preceptors and their disciples from Ārya-dēśa, Madhya-dēśa and Gauḍa-dēśa (SII. II. No. 20). A number of monasteries to accommodate these teachers came into existence. Two of such institutions were situated at Tiruvāvaḍuturai thereby indicating that this was a chief centre of the new Śaiva cult from its initial stages of establishment in the Tamil country. One of these, the Sarva-dāvan *maṭha*, was named after the royal preceptor, Sarva-śiva (103 of 1925, AD 1040). The other *maṭhas* that were founded during this period were located in Sivapuram (Kumbakonam taluk), Tirukkadaiyur (Mayuram taluk), and Brahmadesam (Villupuram taluk) (see Appendix).

It should be observed here that the predominant Śaiva cult that was already in vogue in the Tamiḷakam prior to Rājarāja I was not very different in religious practices from the newly introduced school. Both believed in the existence of one supreme Lord and this was Śiva; both worshipped Him in his *rūpārūpa* (அருவுருவம்) aspect, that is, the Śiva-linga consecrated in temples; both believed in the efficacy of prayers and to some degree, in the practice of *yōga;* both recognized the authority of the Vēdas, although in varying degrees; so also both followed the āgamic injunctions at least in so far as the *kriyā* and *caryā* practices. The older school appears to have preferred Pāśupata-sūtras and the code of conduct contained therein, while the new entrant depended largely on the Śaiva āgamas. There

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were, however, minor differences in their religious practices and major ones in philosophical concepts as stated on a previous page. The number of divergences between the old and the new being of a rather slender order at the ritualistic level, the new school did not have to face any significant degree of opposition. Furthermore, the old school must have become somewhat stale and routinized from the beginning of the 7th century and a new vitalizing force found free and ready penetration into the matrix.

As a result of the superimposition of the new school, fresh texts incorporating the reconciled or rationalized aspects between the old and the new began to be composed in the form of *paddhatis*. If Hiralal's opinion (1927)—that the Gōlaki school was founded in relation to the cult of *Śakti* Worship as evidenced at the Chounsatha Jogini temple, Bhedaghat—is accepted, it logically follows that the cult of *Śakti* worship was a part of the Gōlaki tenet and that it accompanied the Gōlaki migration into the Tamil country. We see clear evidence of this trend in the origin of separate shrines for the goddess (*kāmakūṭṭam*) within the Śiva temple-complex only from the 11th century onwards (Srinivasan, 1960). This important interpolation into the old school necessitated the elaboration of āgamic and ritualistic texts with possible additions of such of those elements that were reconciled or rationalized.

The new movement brought by the Gōlaki *ācāryas* soon found ready acceptance by the Tamil people. Rājarāja I himself appears to have encouraged the 'conversion' of the indigenous people into the new faith. One of his inscriptions (SII. II. No. 65) mentions the names of 45 persons appointed for singing the *tiruppadiyams* (the sacred decads) in the Rājarājēsvaram temple. As shown elsewhere (Swamy, 1971), their personal names in the majority of cases are typically the ones that were in vogue at the time, while their *dīkṣā* names are equally typical of the ones chosen by the Gōlaki *ācāryas*, eg., Irāman-sambandam *alias* Satya-śiva, Ambalavan pattārka *alias* Vāma-śiva, Kamban Tirunāvukkaraiyan *alias* Sadā-Kūttan Veṇkātan *alias* Rudra-śiva, Pichchan Veṇkāṭan *alias* Aghōra-śiva, etc. This list also contains a person by name Kāpāli-vāli alias Gnāna-śiva, which indicates that Kāpālikas were also taken into the Gōlaki following. The new converts took the faith in right earnest; an undated inscription written in the characters of about the 10th/11th centuries mentions that one Śāttakuṭṭi-mādavan *alias* Vāma-śiva consecrated an image of

Candēsvara in a shrine constructed of stone in Tirunamanallur, South Arcot district (241 of 1939/40).

The 12th century epigraphs convey the rapidity with which the Gōlaki faith attracted the local people. Viṭankan Uyyavandān *alias* Gnāna-śiva was a *tapasvin*-inmate of a monastery attached to a temple in Tiruvāvaḍutural (144 of 1926, AD 1122). A cartain Tirumaḷigaippishchan is described as a *maṭhapati* (pontiff) (446 of 1912, AD 1181).* Following the example of his predecessors on the Cōḷa throne, Vikrama (1118–1135) had Srīkantha-śambhu (Srīkantha-śiva) as his *rājaguru*. As already stated, two of the *siddhānta* texts in the Tamil language were born during this century, which is an obvious testimony to the ready absorption of the new faith by the Tamil people.

Proliferation

There is considerable body of data which signifies that the Gōlaki immigration into the Andhra and Tamil countries occurred in successive waves, thereby continuously replenishing new blood into the Śaiva veins. These repeated movements not only helped the stabilization of the new faith in the new lands, but also caused the establishment of the new faith in the new lineages. It should also be stated that the Lakṣādhyāyī lineages of the Andhra and Tamil countries are largely independent of each other, and that the lineage in the Andhra country commenced a century later as compared with that in the Tamil country (Fig. 1). There could have been, however, some cases of restricted mutual movements between the two branches in view of the topographical proximity of the linguistic areas, but there is no positive evidence to prove that the movements did take place.

In the Tamil country, just as in the Āndhradēśa, the Lakṣādhyāyī (= Bhikṣā) lineage of the Gōlaki school was the earliest to immigrate and the first to attain stability. In the 13th century fresh reinforcement flowed in from the Rāḍhā and its neighbouring areas in North India (47, 209 of 1924; 9 of 1935/6; 242 of 1939/40; 102 of 1934/5; etc.). The followers of the Āmardaka school, another lineage initiated by Rudra-śiva of the Mattamayūra clan, migrated and settled down in the Tirunelveli district in the 15th century (465, 569 of 1917).

The coming in of the cult in repeated waves and the increasing number of disciples that Lakṣādhyāyi lineage acquired from the Tamil

* Could this person be the same as Tirumaligai-devar of the 9th Book of the Tirumurai?

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stock caused the formation of numerous branches (lineages) in the earlier part of the 13th century, which, from many standards, represents a glorious period in the Śaivite history of the Tamil country. It was a period of consolidation, codification, syncretization and rationalization. The tremendous rate of increase in the number of Gōlaki institutions and their preceptors in this century has already been referred to; so also the birth of several new lineages. These lineages took control of the organization and administration of some of the long-standing Śiva temples. We also see the maximum number of bountiful gifts made to temples and *maṭhas* by the rulers and the ruled in this century. The architecture of the temples and sculptural representations of deities increased in variety, area, elaboration and complexity.

New trends

Another significant happening of this century is the rendering of the philosophical concepts of the Śaiva (*sensu strictu*) school in the Tamil language by Meykaṇḍar; Śivagnānasiddiyār also saw light in the same century. Thus four of the 14 *siddhānta* texts in the Tamil language had become available. It is also very probable that this century was the period of all the four *santānācāryas*, although the last of them, Umāpati-śivācary, continued to live in the following century.

Many of the *maṭhas* and temples in this period acquired a Tamil complexion by virtue of their having had the preceptors and disciples belonging to the indigenous stock. Meykaṇḍan's case itself is an example of this kind. Ēdiroppiladar (Sōmanatha) of the Tiruchchattimurram lineage presided over the Tayapperumaḷ tirumaḍam (109 of 1911). The teacher Tattanuḍaiyar (Īśana-dēva) was the recipient of a monastery (49 of 1911, AD 1240). Ariyavratankonḍa-mudaliyar was residing in the Nandikēśvara *maṭha* (239 of 1912). Pukaḻidēvar presided over a sacred monastery (54 of 1914). Pukaḻipperumaḷ of the Gnānāmṛtacārya *santāna* was appointed to read *Tirugnānam* (359 of 1916, AD 1256). Sōḻan-Śiyan (Agnōra-dēva) of the Jīyar *santāna* finds mention in 364 of 1916, AD c. 1222. Tiruchchirrambala-muḍaiyār Tiruttaiyūrnāyanār was a resident of Abhimuktan *maṭha* (311 of 1927, AD 1283). Uyyaninrāḍuvān-kandan (Īśāna-dēva) built a monastery called Tirugnānasambandan-kukai (311 of 1927/8, AD 1207). Jayattuvāyttar (Vāmadēva) resided in the Tyagavinōdan *maṭha* (146 of 1935/6). Instances such as these may be multiplied.

The ever increasing participation in and acceptance of the Gōlaki faith by the Tamil public resulted in the evolution of certain fresh

trends. As noted earlier, there was already a matrix of Pāśupata and *bhakti* cults in the Tamil country prior to the coming in of the Śaiva (*Sensu strictu*) cult. There were also certain other Śaivitic sects like the Kāpālikas and possibly Kaulas. We have already referred to an example of a Kāpālika accepting the new Śaiva faith. Thus, many of the converts were those who were already following one or the other of the Śaivite cults and who recognized Śiva as the only supreme god. The amalgamation process between the old and the new faiths was spontaneous and the Gōlaki immigrants from the north fully recognized an element of advantage in allowing such factors of consolidation and syncretism in order to establish their faith firmly on the Tamil soil. One such step in the process was the offering of the *tiruppadiyams* in temples. This was a tradition that was probably in vogue prior to the Gōlaki infiltration into the Tamil land. The system continued in the following centuries in a rather routine manner. The acceptance of this tradition by the followers of the Gōlaki faith is witnessed in their christening Āḷuḍaiyappiḷḷaiyar as Tirugnānasambanda, thereby absorbing this saint into their fold. This act was done with such a gusto that they established numerous *maṭha* and *qukais* named after this saint and some of the followers themselves chose their names after the saint. It is about this period that the 11th stanza was composed and added on to the Decads of Āḷuḍaiyappiḷḷaiyar (Swamy, 1971).

An example of consolidation of older cults and their incorporation into the new one is seen in the collection of hymns and allied compositions bearing on Śiva or Śaivite theme in the Tamil language into a series of 12 Books called *Tirumurai*. Whether a part of this series had been compiled earlier or not, the full series in the form that has come down to us took shape in the 13th century.

Superimposed factors such as these modified to some extent the original complexion of the Gōlaki school at the religious level. The term "Dakṣiṇa Gōlaki" used in the epigraphs obviously refer to the modified cult (234 of 1924, AD 1303; c. p. 33 of 1940/1, AD k 577). The Gōlaki school in the Andhra country also must have been subjected to similar trends, although what exactly are these is not known. It is about the 13th century that we hear of the terms "nava Gōlaki" (4 of 1956/7) and "abhinava Gōlaki" (50 of 1940/1), which are indicative of some kind of transformation of the original Gōlaki cult.

Stabilization

Umāpati-śivācārya, who lived in the earlier part of the 14th century is believed to be the author of eight works in the Tamil language

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dealing with the philosophical aspects of the Śaiva school. Thus the 14th century saw the completion of the philosophical texts popularly called the *siddhānta śāstras*. These books have remained to this day the doctrinal texts of the Śaivas in the Tamil country.

Even as early as the 11th century, Tiruvāvaḍuturai in the Mayuram taluk, Tanjore district, was a great center of the Śaiva (*sensu strictu*) school. It is learnt that during the regnal years of Rājarāja I in the first decade of the 11th century, the temple at this place was being managed by a certain Sadā-śiva, obviously a preceptor of the Gōlaki *vamśa* (ARE 1924/5, Part II, para 13). The large number of gifts made by the Cōḷa kings to the temples and monasteries at this place speaks of the flourishing condition of religious institutions. As many as seven *maṭhas* were functioning at Tiruvāvaḍuturai during the 11th and 12th centuries:

Sarvadēvan *maṭha*	Rājēndra I	103 of 1925, AD 1040
Tiruvīdi *maṭha*	Kulōttunga I	147 of 1925, AD 1084
Tirunīlakaṇṭan *maṭha*	"	144 of 1925, AD 1101
Paramāṇavācakan *maṭha*	"	155 of 1925, AD 1109
Nārpattēnnāyiravan *maṭha*	"	150 of 1925, AD 1111
Śivalōkanāyakan *maṭha*	"	148 of 1925, AD 1116
" "	Vikrama	149 of 1925, AD 1121
Pañcanadiyānan *maṭha*	"	67 of 1925 —

Many of these *maṭhas* were concerned mainly with affording food and shelter to *tapasvins*, devotees, etc., and as such it is not difficult to imagine the large numbers of such persons who either were residents or itinerants. A second centre of similar activity, although on a less fabulous scale had been functioning at Tiruvallīśvaram, Ambāsamudram taluk, Tirunelveli district, under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya kings. The Vīrapaṇḍitan *maṭha* was engaged in the same philanthropic activities as its counterparts at Tiruvāvaḍuturai.

As shown on previous pages, these institutions were Gōlaki in character and readily accepted the Tamilized *siddhānta* texts as a vehicle to propagate the philosophical doctorines, as such a procedure opened for them a hurdle-free venue for radiating all over the Tamil country. Namaśśivāya (Pañcākṣara-dēśika), who was a disciple of Śivaprakāśa at Tiruvāvaḍuturai, appears to have recognized and stabilized the institution at the place in the first half of the 15th century. One can only infer that such efforts had become necessary consequent upon the fall of the Cōḷa dynasty, which had all along been their sole

patron. The Vijayanagar rulers who succeeded, patronized both Śaivam and Vaiṣṇavism with equanimity, and also gave initial impetus for the revival of *Vēdamārga* and *Smārta* sect which recognized the concept of *varṇāśrama-dharma*, as a result of which the Kamakōṭi and Śarada *pīṭhas* at Kanchipuram and Śṛṅgeri respectively became established. Thus all the major religious cults in their empire, – Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śrīvaiṣṇava Samrta and Lingayat – received equal patronage irrespective of the personal leaning of individual kings. Instances of their patronage to the Gōlaki *ācāryas* and their *maṭhas* are also not wanting. Such a situation gave rise to a spirit of sanguine competition among the diverse religious systems, and the 14th and 15th centuries produced a large bulk of religious literature – commentative, elaborative and polemical. This was also the period when many of the existing monastic orders and their administrative and organizational systems were formulated and codified.

It is with this background that we have to assess the role of Namaśśivāya. That Tiruvāvaḍuturai had been a highly influential centre of the Gōlaki *dharma* from the 11th century is indisputable. Due to the impact of new political conditions that faced the Tamil country in the 14th century, concomitant changes in the organizational and administrative systems of contemporary religious institutions became inevitable for their continued survival. The part played by Namaśśivāya in the history of the Tiruvavaḍuturai institution was to institute such of those changes in the working of the institution that would go a long way in the stabilization of Tiruvāvaḍuturai as a centre of study and dispersal of the Gōlaki, or rather, the Dakṣina-Gōlaki *dharma*. One of the steps taken by Namaśśivāya in this direction was to consolidate the many *maṭhas* at the place under one management. The foundation laid down by Namaśśivāya not only turned out to be sturdy but also intellectually fertile. The lineage of preceptors that followed were not only men of influence, ability and forcthought, but also men of great learning as is evidenced by the voluminous production of doctrinal literature under their patronage, many of the works having been written by the pontiffs themselves or by their disciples (Anon, 1962).

Later History

The Tiruvāvaḍuturai *ādhīnam* continued to flourish with its wide-spread influence through the following centuries and in course of time gave rise to two other pontifical lineages of its own kind,— Dharmapuram and Tiruppanandal *ādhīnams*. The piously devoted activities of these orders in the propagation of religious and doctrinal

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faiths are too well-known to need mention here. These *ādhīnams* (including their parent at Tiruvāvaḍuturai) exercise control over specific groups of Śiva temples and supervise their proper upkeep, management and conduct. The Vambattur-*matha* at Tirunelveli is at present functioning as a sort of an affiliated branch of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai *adhinam*, and the names of its preceptors are still reminiscent of those of the Gōlaki *ācaryas* (eg. Iśāna-śivācārya).

Retrospective epilogue

The genesis of the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism can be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era in areas comprising Rajastan, Gujarat, Saurastra and Central India; the adherents of the cult, both of Indian and exotic infiltrations, who were ruling some parts of North-western India described themselves as "parama māheśvaras" (Chattopadhyaya, 1970), implying that they were the devotees of Rudra. Lakuliśa (A.D. 1st and 2nd centuries) introduced some additions and alterations in the cult as a result of which, his followers segregated themselves as Lakuliśa-pāśupatas. Kaundinya Rāśīkāra, (A.D. 401 and 425) is credited with the collection and codification of the *sūtras* of the Pāśupata cult and this was an important step in the history of Śaivism (*sensu lato*). Sometime between the 5th and 8th century "the followers of the maheśvara cult had become sub-divided into the two sub-sects of the Śaivas and Pāśupatas on account probably of difference on the question of the philosophical basis of their creed but agreement amongst themselves as to the religious practices to be followed for the practical realization of the ideal placed before them by Lakuliśa" (Divanji, 1955). By this time the cults had spread practically throughout India including the areas ruled by the Pallava kings in the peninsular India.

From the 9th century, we begin to hear of four major sects of Śaivism, Śaiva (*sensu stricto*), Pāśupata, Kāruṇika-siddhānta and Kāpālika (Vacaspati Miśra's gloss Bhāmati on the Śārīraka-bhāṣya). And these sects were distributed in various areas throughout India. The differences between these sects were again more obvious at the theoritical level than at the practical plane. The Mattamayūra line of ascetics in Central India belonged to the Śaiva sect (*sensu stricto*) which itself is a modified branch of the earlier Pāśupata cult. The religious environment in the Tamil country during the corresponding period does not appear to be much different from the conditions elsewhere in India except for the domination of Pāśupata (? non-

Lakuliśa) cult.* It is into this meshwork that the Gōlaki school of thought interlaced its yarn in the time of Rājarāja I. By about the beginning of the 13th century the new texture had almost completely obliterated the older mesh. During this process some patches of the old mesh were ressurrected, reinforced and amalgamated into the new pattern in a harmonious way exhibiting a verisimilitude of homogeneity.

The tempo and mode of these trends reached a peak in the 13th century, when another momentous event happened. This was the adaptation of the doctrinal texts that were in the Sanskṛt language into the Tamil language. As a result, the cult reached and encaptured the heart and mind of common man and rapidly radiated throughout the Tamil country; its roots multiplied and penetrated deeply in the Tamil soil. The other Śaiva cults/ sects that were in vogue in some parts of the Tamil country—like Kāpālika, Bhairava, Pāśupata,? Kaula—succumbed to the impact of the Gōlaki *dharma* and completely merged and lost their identity in its folds.

Thus the Tamil soil provided a fertile and soft berth for the phenominal growth and stabilization of the Gōlaki school of Śaivism from the 10th/11th centuries, which during the process absorbed some elements from its earlier Pāśupata strata. This is the essential Śaiva cult that has come down, through centuries to the present day Tamil Nadu. All through its course it has remained a continuum and there have been no significant breaks or hiatuses. Therefore in all those contexts wherein the terms "Tamilnad Śaivism", "Tamil Śaivism", "Tamilnad Śaiva *sidhānta*", "Tamil Śaiva" etc., have been employed, it must be categorically maintained that the Śaivism referred to is the Gōlaki-Lakṣâdhyāyī school of Śaivism which was fostered in the Tamil country and nothing more. Similarly, when it is claimed that Meykaṇḍa was "the father of Tamilnad Śaivism", it only means that he, who was himself a preceptor of the Gōlaki-Lakṣādhyāyi order, rendered the doctrinal aphorisms of the Gōlaki school of Śaivism into the Tamil language and nothing more. When "Tamil lineages of preceptors" are spoken of, it should clearly refer to the persons of indigenous (Tamil) stock who had accepted the Gōlaki-Lakṣadhyayi tenets and nothing more. When "Tamil maḍams (*maṭhas*)" are referred to, such contexts should mean the monasteries started or presided over by the indigenous stock of Tamil-speaking people who had joined the Gōlaki-Lakṣādhyayi order and nothing more.

* More critical studies are necessary in reference to the Śaiva cults that were in vogue during the Pallava, early Cōḷa and early Pāṇḍya periods (6th to 10th centuries.

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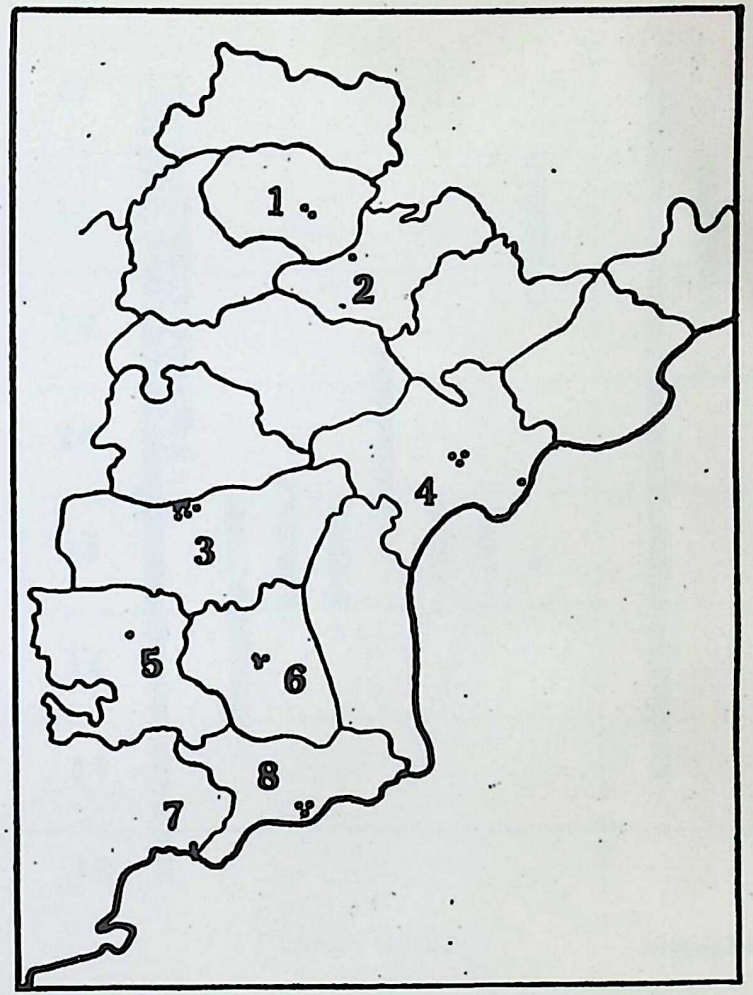

Map 1

Distribution of the Gōlaki Institutions during the 12th to the 14th centuries in the Andhra Country. 1. Karimnagar district, 2. Warangal district, 3. Kurnool district, 4. Guntur district, 5. Anantapur district, 6. Cudappah district, 7. Kolar district (Mysore), 8. Chittoor district.

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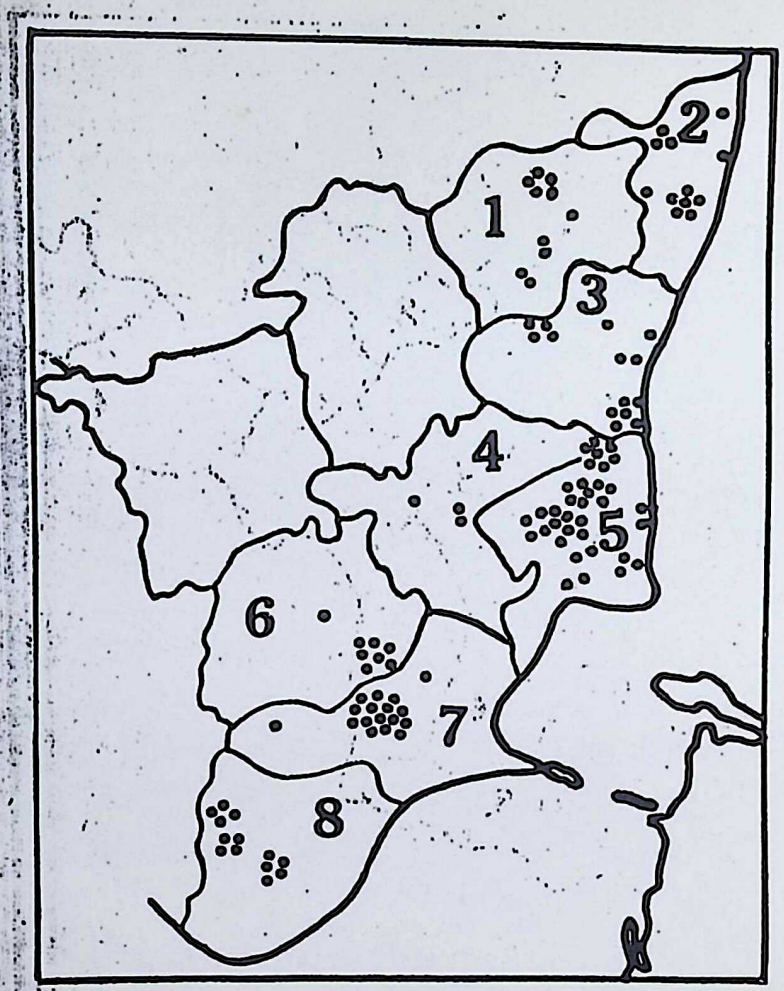

Map 2

Distribution of Gōlaki Institutions during the 11th to the 14th centuries in the Tamil country. 1. North Arcot district, 2. Chingleput district, 3. South Arcot district, 4. Tiruchi district, 5. Tanjore district, 6. Madurai district, 7. Ramanathapuram district, 8. Tirunelveli district.

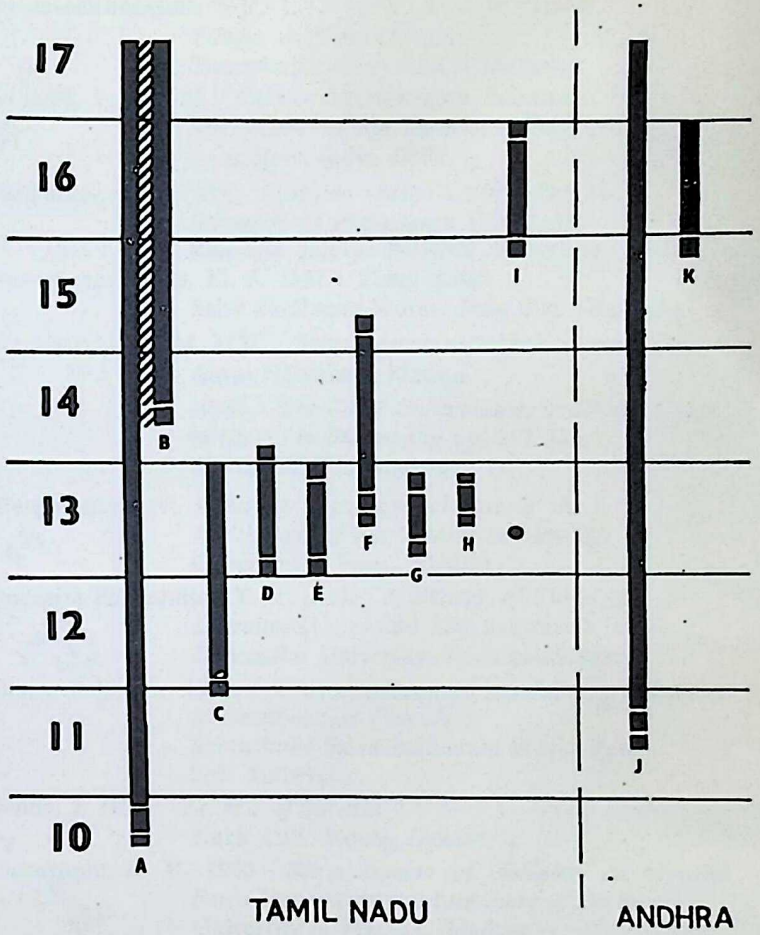

Fig. 1.

Gamut of the Gōlaki lineages in time in the Tamil and Andhra countries. A. Lakṣādhyāyī (Bhikṣā) lineage, B. Tiruvāvḍuturai lineage, C. Tiruchchattimuṟṟam lineage, D. Nandikēśvara lineage, E. Sembaikkuḍi lineage, F. Kīḻaimaṭha lineage, G. Marudapperumāḷ lineage, H. Pandarangavāṇar lineage, I. Meykaṇḍa lineage (Dot – the age of Meikaṇḍa), J. Lakṣādhyāyī (Bhikṣā) lineage, K. Dēvikāpuram lineage.

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APPENDIX

List of *mathas* of Gōlaki affiliation which were meant for feeding the devotees

Name of the matha	*Epigraphic reference*	*Date*
	Arcot, North	
Tillaivāḻandanan	404 of 1922	1121
Puṣpagiri-jīyar	106 of 1939/40	—
Bhikṣā (of Chidambaram)	115 of 1939/40	1301
(no name)	200 of 1939/40	1403
	Arcot South	
Rājanārāyana	179 of 1918	1075
Vikramacōḻan	61 of 1918	—
Ēḻisaimōhan	276 of 1939/40	—
	Chingleput	
Ācarasīlan	33 of 1932/3	1123
Vaḻmaravan	26 of 1932/3	1209
Gaṇḍagōpalamāṇikkan	330 of 1928/9	1234
	Madurai	
Naralōkasūryan	4 of 1915	—
	Salem	
(no name)	431 of 1913	1376
	Tanjore	
Sarvadēvan	103 of 1925	1040
(no name)	277 of 1927	1075
Tiruvīḍi	147 of 1925	1084
Mārkaṇḍēyan	243 of 1925	1096
Tirunīlaviṭaṅkan	144 of 1925	1101
Paramānavācakan	155 of 1925	1109
Śivalōkanāyakan	148, 149 of 1925	1116, 1121
Parasamayakōḻari	534 of 1918	1121
Pañcanadīyanan	67 of 1926	1122
Kulōttuṅgacōḻan	272 of 1927	1122

Tiruchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyān	438 of 1918	1122
Tiruvirāmīśvaram	271 of 1925	—
	Tiruchi	
Eḻunūṟṟuvan	179 of 1914	1109
Paranjōti	246 of 1929/30	—
	Tirunelveli	
Grāmarājan	355, 356, 358 of 1916	12/13th cent
Vīrapanditan	357 of 1916	„
(no name)	353 of 1916	13th cent.
Tyāgakunjari	629 of 1917	„
Karparāyan	255 of 1940/1	—
Śeyynampirāṭṭi	292 of 1940/1	—
Sundarapāṇḍyan	197 of 1943/4	—

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